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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE REVOLT OF THE CLERGY.

THE startling document published by the *Times* on Thursday, and addressed by sixty-three more or less distinguished clergymen to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, derives its importance not merely from the representative character of the names attached to it, but also, and much more, from the fact that it boldly formulates the discontent notoriously prevalent amongst the most active and energetic party in the Church, with the present relations of Church and State. That discontent received not long previously a fuller and more elaborate, though, of course, not so representative an expression, in an epistolary pamphlet addressed by Canon Carter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.* To this the archbishop published a reply,† together with a sermon on the "Church and Law," and these two pamphlets shed an instructive light on the fundamental divergence of sentiment in the Church suggested by the address now issued. That address sets out with a pointed allusion to "the coercive measures resorted to for enforcing uniformity," and to the existence of "a determination to endure any suffering rather than submit to a jurisdiction which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as purely secular." Canon Carter, in his pamphlet, sets out the significance of this complaint more at large. He quotes from various documents, beginning with the so-called Reformation of Henry VIII., to prove that the Church of England, even since its separation from Rome, has always been taught to have an eye to "the Catholic consent of antiquity" and "the usages of primitive times." These are vague terms; but Canon Carter is no doubt right in arguing that neither the Tudors—unless Edward VI. be excepted—nor the Stuarts had any notion of establishing a genuinely Protestant Church, and were not disinclined towards any Roman superstitions except those likely to interfere with the royal supremacy. But now the Canon complains that, on the principle "omission is prohibition," the rubrics are so interpreted as very seriously to threaten the Catholic aspect of Anglican doctrine and practice. Let us not be befooled by words. The term "Catholic" may be interpreted so as to have a noble meaning, as when it describes the universal life that inspires the invisible church. But this is not the sense in which it is taken by Canon Carter and his associates. Amongst them it means only those churches which have what they are pleased to regard as a legitimate succession of supernaturally gifted bishops. Hence it will be evident that an issue of the gravest kind is raised in the complaint we have described. This nation thought it was Protestant; and its legally-appointed courts, when dealing with Church ceremonies, have generally decided on that assumption. And it is precisely because they have done so, and because a fresh decision of a similar tone is feared, that the present outcry is raised.

The signataries of the address have been reproached by a morning contemporary with confounding the legislative and judicial functions of ecclesiastical authority. They are told that the decisions have been in accordance with law, and that, if they are not content, they should try to get the law altered. This reproach seems to us, however, scarcely just. For an alteration of the law, and that of a very revolutionary kind, is precisely what they demand. They complain that obnoxious judgments are at present rendered inevitable by the fact that "appeal is now made, not to the living voice of the Church, but to events and documents which have themselves always been matters of controversy." The tone in which this plea is urged is that of serious conviction. And spiritual descendants of the Puritans should be the last to treat with levity the appeal of men who "believing in the Presence in the Church of her Divine Head, are convinced that what is required is not the mere interpretation, however skilful, of existing law, but the living voice of the Church clearly laying down what the law shall be in the future." This demand also is more fully explained by Canon Carter. He traces not unfairly the gradual historical transference of episcopal jurisdiction to secular courts. He is apparently not conscious that he is giving a lucid illustration of the inevitable working of the principle of a legal establishment in modern times. And in conclusion, he demands that Convocation shall have legislative powers on ecclesiastical subjects co-ordinate with those of Parliament, and that bishops shall be once more constituted independent and authoritative judges. There is no doubt that the cry for such freedom of Church action is in strict harmony with the faith, expressed by the address, "in the presence in the Church of her Divine Head." Whether it is consistent with the maintenance of the Establishment, is altogether another question, on which the common-sense of the country has already given an unmistakeable judgment.

Will the fathers of the Church give a corporate reply to this ingenuous appeal? The Archbishop's brief answer is a mere acknowledgment; and, if we may judge by his reply to Mr. Carter, they will find it rather difficult to do so. For, of course, they too believe "in the presence in the Church of her Divine Head." They too think that the Church has a "living voice" which ought surely to be heard on disputed questions. They too must believe that dusty parchments are a sorry substitute for a present inspiration. And agreeing on such premisses, it is cross-country work indeed to make their way to any other conclusion than that of the spiritual independence of the Church. The letter and sermon of the Archbishop simply evade the issue, or lose it in a mist of words. He has a good deal to say about alleged technical errors of Canon Carter in regard to Lord Penzance's court and other matters. He tells the canon that "he will find it very difficult to persuade" the public of this and the other point in his argument. But he never fairly faces the question whether the utter paralysis of self-government which has overtaken the Church is or is not consistent with the high claims that it makes to a perpetual inspiration. The only logical basis for the Archbishop's position is that of downright Erastianism; and from this he naturally shrinks. Indeed, one crucial difference which we note, as implied, though not openly stated, between the Archbishop and his correspondent, is the assumption on his part of the legal fiction that the Church and the nation are identical; while Mr. Carter and the signataries of the address as well manifestly feel that this has become wholly untenable. They boldly take up the position that the Anglican Communion has a sort of spiritual life that the nation, as a nation, does not share. They revolt against the oppression of this spiritual life by those who, they allege, do not understand it. They demand that it shall be freely organised by those whom it inspires. They have gone too far to draw back. They will be irresistibly pushed forward till the strait gate of disestablishment comes in view. Then many of them will pause. But the vision of an upward path beyond will attract the nobler souls amongst them; and the barrier once passed, they will wonder that they feared it so long.

* "Constitutional Order: the Rightful Claim of the Church of England," &c. (London: Rivingtons.)

† "The Church and Law: a Letter in Answer to the Rev. Canon Carter," &c. (London: Macmillan and Co.)

THE BURIALS BILL CONFERENCE.

THE Conference of the opponents of the Government Burials Bill, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday, was in all respects what might have been expected and wished for, after the expressions of opinion respecting the measure which we have been recording from the night when the Duke of Richmond unfolded the ministerial scheme. It was not only largely attended, but the attendance was of an unusually representative character—Episcopalians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians, Quakers, and even Jews, taking part in the demonstration. No fewer than thirty-five members of the House of Commons were present, and among them three members of the late Government, as well as one of the "whips" of the Liberal Opposition. In fact, the attendance of so many men of weight and ability, belonging to town and country, and to different ecclesiastical sections, made the selection of speakers a matter of some delicacy, and also made it impossible for the speaking adequately to represent all the elements of which the Conference was composed.

We cannot apply to the unanimity and the earnestness displayed the well-worn epithet, "wonderful"—simply because it was what, under the circumstances, was precisely what might have been looked for. There have been conferences on questions specially affecting Nonconformists which have brought out embarrassing differences of opinion, in regard either to principles or to policy, and when a

feeling of languor, or a sense of hopelessness, in regard to the object aimed at, has been fatal to vigorous and successful action; but the men who met yesterday felt that the Government had made their way clear before them; so that they were as much agreed in respect to tactics as they were in denouncing the dishonesty, as well as the mischievousness, of the ministerial measure. Mr. Osborne Morgan, so far from believing that he is about to be "dished" by the Government measure, spoke with all the buoyancy of a leader who feels that the blunder of the opposing party has given him a new and great advantage. Evidently, he regards, and we think rightly, the production of this abortive bill of a Tory Government as one of the phases of the burials question which must necessarily be passed through prior to its ultimate settlement. It is simply the old method over again: all possible alternatives being tried, with the effect of showing that only the right method of settlement can ultimately be adopted.

We think it clear from yesterday's proceedings, as well as from other information which has reached us, that there is now no danger that the bill will be allowed to pass on the ground that its merits as a consolidation and sanitary measure outweigh its defects in dealing with a sentimental grievance. The scheme was cunningly devised, but it is seen through; and its very cleverness excites anger, because it is associated with what is regarded as being either dishonesty, or as trifling with the deepest feelings of a very large section of the community. It was clearly shown, in the statement read at the opening of the Conference, that the bill is a very bad one, even regarded only as a means of codifying and simplifying the existing law; because the existing law is, in some respects, so objectionable, that though there might have been delay in seeking for its repeal, there must be the utmost resistance to an attempt to re-enact and perpetuate it. In this respect, the Government, which has, we suspect, been cowed by the clergy, have unwittingly done a great disservice to the clergy; who will presently be amply punished for their short-sighted resistance to Mr. Morgan's measure. Hitherto, the battle has been fought in the parochial churchyards only; but henceforth the field must include the parochial cemeteries as well. As was pointed out clearly at the Conference, the root of the evil of which complaint is made by Nonconformists is to be found in the fact, that consecration, which should be only a religious rite, practised by those who attach any value to it, is associated with certain legal disqualifications. Consecrate every inch of our churchyards, and our cemeteries, if you will, say Nonconformists to Episcopalians; but let consecration no longer give to the Established clergy any exclusive rights whatever in consecrated ground—whether within churchyard or cemetery walls. Adopt that principle, and you get rid of every difficulty arising out of the division between consecrated and unconsecrated ground; the erection of superfluous mortuary chapels, and a whole host of minor evils, or absurdities. The struggle must come to that at last, and we have to thank a Conservative administration for having brought us so perceptibly nearer to the final issue.

It was, we think, with almost superfluous energy that the Liberal party and the Liberal leaders were urged, in the language of warning as well as of entreaty, to do their duty, by striving to secure the rejection, or the abandonment, of the Government bill. We have seen no signs of flinching yet on their part, and the decisive tone of Mr. Stansfeld's speech indicated clearly enough that, whatever may have been the indifference of the official Liberals when they were in office, they are fully alive to their duty and, we may add, to their opportunity, in regard to this Burials question, now that they are out of it. Certainly, no quarter will be given to the bill in the House of Commons, and we shall own to our disappointment if there be not uncompromising opposition in the Lords also.

Somehow or other, this bill must be got rid of—that is the practical conclusion arrived at by yesterday's Conference. On Friday week, when the second reading comes on in the upper House, we may be able to judge whether its authors are likely to abandon it early or late. But it had better be assumed that it will be late, rather than early, and that that result can only be secured with certainty by action of the most resolute kind. Hitherto, doubt has been felt as to the necessity, or the expediency, of petitioning; but it has now been resolved that, if the bill reaches the House of Commons, it should be assailed with petitions numerous enough to block its further progress. Many, we know, have been waiting for this note to be sounded, and, now that it is heard, we hope, and we believe, that it will be heard to good purpose. It is long since Nonconformists resorted largely to petitioning, either for attack or for defence. Now that the weapon is to be again employed, let it be used with an energy which will represent our utmost strength.

THE HIGH CHURCH CLERGY AND THE STATE.

The following address has been presented to the members of the Episcopal Bench:—

To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.

We, the undersigned clergy of the Church of England, being anxious to retain the relations of Church and State which have so long existed in this country, venture to express to your lordships, as our spiritual fathers, the great anxiety and distress which we feel at the present position of affairs.

On the one side we see coercive measures resorted to for enforcing uniformity such as have been happily unknown in this country for centuries, and on the other a determination to endure any suffering rather than submit to a jurisdiction which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as purely secular.

Moreover, we are much impressed by the unsatisfactory character of the authority and arguments to which appeal is made in the controversies now distracting the Church. For while the Church of England to-day has the same right to decree rites or ceremonies, and possesses the same authority in controversies of faith, as the same Church had at any previous period in her history, appeal is now made, not to the living voice of the Church, but to events and documents which have themselves always been matters of controversy.

Believing, as we do, in the presence in the Church of her Divine Head, we are convinced that what is required is not the mere interpretation, however skilful, of existing law, but the living voice of the Church clearly laying down what the law shall be in the future.

With this conviction upon our minds, we beg to urge upon your consideration that in our opinion no peace can be secured for the Church, nor can her existing relations with the State be long continued, unless laws for the regulation of Divine service, and for other spiritual matters of primary importance, are made by an authority which both clergy and laity would feel to be binding upon conscience; and we are equally satisfied that no authority will be considered thus binding which does not proceed from the Synods of the Church as well as from Parliament.

In saying this we must add that the legislative action of the Church is now paralysed by the apprehension that when her Synodical Acts are submitted to Parliament in the constitutional manner, material alterations may be made in them, and that the final result may be seriously at variance with the intentions of the Synods, and may become law without their consent.

We trust that your lordships will take these representations into your serious consideration, and in your wisdom devise measures to allay the anxiety and distress which is now pressing upon Churchmen.

The address is dated Easter Tuesday, and is signed by about seventy clergymen, amongst whom are R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's; R. Gregory, Canon of St. Paul's; B. Compton, Vicar of All Saints, Margaret-street; A. Duncombe, D.D., Dean of York; T. T. Carter, Rector of Clewer; Charles O. Goodford, D.D., Provost of Eton; Edward Coleridge, Fellow of Eton; C. B. Dalton, Vicar of Highgate, Prebendary of St. Paul's; F. G. Blomfield, Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall-street; B. M. Cowie, B.D., Dean of Manchester; E. King, D.D., Canon of Christchurch, and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; G. H. Curteis, Canon, and Principal of the Theological College, Lichfield; F. R. Grey, Rector of Morpeth, Proctor in Convocation; A. R. Ashwell, Canon and Principal of the Theological College, Chichester; E. R. Wilberforce, Vicar of Seaforth; C. W. Furse, Vicar of Cuddesden, and Principal of the Theological College, Cuddesden; Frederick Gore Ouseley, Canon of Hereford, Proctor in Convocation; G. Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury, Proctor in Convocation; the Deans of York and St. Asaph; the Vicar of Leeds; and the Archdeacons of Derby, Rochester, Isle of Wight (Bishop M'Dougall), Wilts, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Sarum, and Montgomery.

To this memorial the Primate, in acknowledging its receipt, has returned the following reply:—

Addington Park, Croydon, April 7.

My dear Dean of St. Paul's,—I beg leave to acknowledge an address to the archbishops and bishops, dated Easter Tuesday, 1877, which you have been kind enough to forward to me. I confess myself not quite able to follow the exact meaning of some parts of this address, which probably, like other similar addresses, has been signed by different persons attaching somewhat different meanings to its statements. In particular, I am of opinion that it does not accurately distinguish between ecclesiastical matters judicial and ecclesiastical matters legislative—the former of which are, according to our present Constitution, conducted in a regular gradation of our ecclesiastical courts, culminating in the Sovereign advised by the Privy Council, such ecclesiastical courts being jealously kept distinct from the ordinary civil tribunals of the realm. I shall, however, I presume, not be wrong in concluding that you desire some alteration in the present arrangements of these courts ecclesiastical, though you do not specify with any accuracy the sort of alterations which you think desirable. But I gather that the main object of the address is to urge that matters of legislation affecting the Church in its rites or ceremonies, and controversies of faith, should always be submitted to Convocation. It is not alleged that this principle has in any specific case been violated, and, perhaps, it has escaped your attention that, for the last five years, since Convocation adopted the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act in 1872, it has been engaged in a task such as that which you rightly consider to be its peculiar function, having been called by the authority of the Crown to revise the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer—a work which it has not as yet accomplished.

I need scarcely say that I shall take the earliest opportunity of laying the address which you have forwarded to me before my brethren of the Episcopal bench, and in their name I can at once take upon myself to assure you that it will receive most attentive consideration.—Believe me to be, my dear Dean of St. Paul's,

(Signed) A. C. Cantuar.

The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The High-Church address has provoked much severe comment from the secular press. The *Times*, in giving publicity to it, characterised it as one of the most extraordinary addresses which, even in these days of such documents, have ever been seen. We might expect from such a body of men as those who sign the memorial some expression of opinion which would tend to allay the irrational excitement of the extreme members of their party, and strengthen the hands of authority in dealing with the spirit of rebellion by which the very existence of the Church is menaced. It will be seen, however, with equal disappointment and astonishment, that a course the very reverse of this has been adopted. Nothing more discouraging at the present crisis could well be conceived. In their demand for the self-government of the Church, the memorialists (says the *Times*) leave out of sight entirely what the mass of the laity and, unless we are much mistaken, the majority of the clergy require. The clergymen whose practices have been challenged have accepted their offices, and have received their orders as well as their benefices, upon a distinct promise to conform to the existing law. Such is the definite contract into which they have entered with the Church at large and with the State; and that which the State and the Church require of them is that this contract should be fulfilled. The Synods of the Church may perhaps some day acquire the power now coveted for them, but only on one condition—that the clergy abandon the privileges and the benefices which they possess under the existing constitution of Church and State.

The *Daily Telegraph* says it would appear to be not liberty for all but supremacy for themselves which the memorialists demand. Their threats of disruption are not likely to have any great effect:—

There is one species of "suffering" which no recent Ritualistic objector to the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts has shown any disposition to "endure"; that is, the loss of his endowments and social privileges as a clergyman of the Established Church. People like Mr. Tooth remain in the Church, subject though she is to the evil control of courts. They may be ever "longing to leave," but they are certainly always "loth to depart"; and as this notion has been forced on Parliament by the remarkable contrast between their demand for freedom and their acquiescence in the gilded and beneficed bondage of State control, we fear that they are mistaken if they fancy they will frighten the Legislature by the oft-repeated suggestion of coming schism.

The last word on the subject, however, must be that, so long as the spiritual power wants to have the privileges and emoluments of a State Establishment, the power which establishes it—that is, the will of the Queen, Lords and Commons of England—must always hold supreme authority in finally determining what it is that it establishes.

The *Daily News* remarks that in the demands of the memorialists there is nothing which the public has not heard before. The one thing new is that so many men of position in the Church should have been willing to put their names to claims which the public must regard as wildly extravagant. The authors of this address must know very well that in these days no national Church can exercise the prerogatives which they demand for the Church of England. If they were consistent, they would demand not the retention but the reversal of the relations of Church and State, which have so long existed in this country. Their doctrine leads straight to disestablishment, and they are effective allies of the Liberation Society.

The *Standard* says the memorialists are perfectly consistent, true to their own views and to the traditions of that important school, always powerful in the Church of England, from which they inherit their opinions and their position. It is, however, simply impossible that their com-

plaints should be met and their grievances redressed by any action of the kind which they appear to contemplate. The plain truth is that the grievances of the High Churchmen arise out of the anomalous relation of the Church in England to the State. That relation worked well for centuries, and could continue to work well and smoothly so long as, on the one hand, Parliament forbore to exercise its powers by interfering in matters of faith or ecclesiastical discipline, and while, on the other hand, the Church made no attempt to modify laws or enlarge creeds which had been embodied in and petrified by the common law of England. The Public Worship Act was perhaps the first departure from the mutual indulgence and inaction of centuries. How deeply it has shaken the foundation, not indeed of the Church, but of the Establishment, the address to the archbishops and bishops shows.

The *Morning Post* says that it is daily becoming clearer that strife and difficulty are not very far ahead, and that before long there will be a conflict between the temporal and spiritual powers, which if not cured by reasonable concessions will completely wreck the Church as a legal establishment. The address to the archbishops is a very mild expression of a grievance very severely felt by a large section of Churchmen, and reaches the very core of the evil from which the Church is now suffering—namely, the stoppage of her living voice on the controversies of the day. If the living voice of the Church is to be duly uttered, the organs of that voice must be reconstituted, and our rulers must devise a system by which clergy and laity may be adequately represented as the mouthpiece of the Church.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* heads an article on the memorial an "Insurrection in the Church." It views the demand of the memorialists as in effect the demand for a total reversal of the relations which now subsist between the Church and State, and the erection of Convocation into a supreme government for the Church exclusive of the Queen and exclusive of her Parliament. The memorialists declare that what now "paralyses the legislative action of the Church is the apprehension that when her Synodical Acts are submitted to Parliament in the constitutional manner, material alterations may be made in them, and that the final result may be seriously at variance with the intentions of the synods, and may become law *without their consent.*" The *Pall Mall Gaz tte* continues:—

This, then, is the claim which can be preferred at this time of day by a Dean of St. Paul's, with a train of ecclesiastical dignitaries at his back. The archbishops and bishops are quietly requested to agitate for the abolition of the royal supremacy, and for putting Convocation in the place of the Pope. For that, simply stated, is what their demands amount to; and they are not at pains to disguise, even in words, a pretension which cannot be concealed in fact. They insist that Parliament shall not decree anything in ecclesiastical matters against the consent of Convocation; and they do not even offer in exchange that Convocation shall on its own part decree nothing against the consent of Parliament. Nor would such a concession have been compatible with obtaining a redress of the special grievance of which they are complaining. They want to abolish the jurisdiction of Lord Penzance, and to repeal the Act which created it; which means that they would begin their "reforms" by overruling that decision of Parliament by which the Act was passed and the Court established. The address, in fact, is not even a plea for a division of authority between the civil and ecclesiastical powers—a plea which would be in itself inadmissible; it is a naked demand for absolute ecclesiastical rule. And it comes not from men who ask to be set free from their relations with the State altogether, but from Church dignitaries who wish to maintain the "existing relations" of the Establishment with the State; or, in other words, who wish to keep their present status and emoluments free of the conditions upon which they were originally conferred—to Romanise the doctrines and practice of the Church by decree of "its living voice," and at the same time to employ the arm of secular authority in reducing to submission any Low Church Mr. Tooth who might resist the decree. That such extravagant pretensions as this can be put forward at this day is surprising: but that it should be put forward by dignitaries of the English Church, and supported on such grounds as appear in this address, is a circumstance of evil omen for the Establishment.

The *Spectator* holds that it is unjust to represent those clergy who signed the memorial as men who, if they could have their way, would introduce the extravagances of ultra-Ritualism, such as Mr. Tooth's, into the Church. Men like the Dean of St. Paul's, the Provost of Eton, the Warden of Keble, are not likely to favour violent Ritualism of any kind. And, as a matter of fact, they certainly do not favour it. What this memorial means is not a demand for machinery by the help of which extreme practices may be introduced into the Church, but a demand that the Church shall be treated as if it were a living Church, with full power to regulate its own ceremonial, and not as if it were a Church completely governed by the terms of an ancient, not to say an obsolete, document. Indeed (the *Spectator* says) if we look only at the chief point insisted on by the memorialists, it would not be easy to show that they are not completely in the right; but while we can enter into their motives we see in their memorial at least as much inability to understand the point of view of the laity as the *Times* shows—or pretends—to understand the memorialists! What the memorialists want is that nothing shall be binding on the Church which is not agreed to both by Church and by State. Now, unquestionably this demand implies a tremendous change in the constitutional practice ever since the Reformation. Whatever the theory may be, statutes never submitted to Convocation have been accepted by the Church and treated as parts of its law by tribunals which were never till now challenged by the clergy. Any change in this practice could hardly be introduced without a struggle which would itself be far more likely to end in disestablishment than in success for the new rule—and this partly because, as everybody knows, there is a slightly fanatical party lying in wait for any occasion to renew the cry for disestablishment; and partly for the much better reason that the Houses of Convocation, as they exist at present, represent the laity of the Church a great deal less adequately than the House of Commons, in spite of all its Dissenting and alien elements, itself represents them.

The *John Bull* is greatly alarmed at the prospect before the Church. It would protest as heartily as any hot-headed clergymen and laymen against the Erastianism which culminated in the Public Worship Act. But that Act may be repealed or reduced to a dead letter by the bishop refusing to entertain prosecution, or Convocation might modify the provision in the preface of the Prayer-book so as to enable the bishop to appease doubts and diversities by the advice of his chapter or synod. Other changes are suggested which the clergy, if resolute and united, could secure, and the *John Bull* would have them use all plainness of speech in Convocation, in conferences, to the bishops, to Parliament, and privately to the members of both Houses.

Neither the law lords nor the bishops can be acquitted of knowing what they were about; but the lawyers thought a common law judge quite a boon to the Church, and the bishops were defeated and helpless; they were only to blame for not at once withdrawing the bill. Parliament certainly does not want to quarrel with the Church; and it is hard if the English clergy cannot effect as much as the Scottish Establishment has won from it, if they only exhibit as much determination. The folly that is talked with regard to disestablishment cannot be too harshly condemned. Disestablishment in England means the dissolution of order in the Church, and revolution in the State. It means the rending asunder the noblest Church polity the world has ever seen, and setting up a reign of schism. It means the extinction of Christianity in many parts of this land as completely as in the Seven Churches of Asia. It means the loss of souls by thousands, and the poisoning of the wells of education, and the giving over the masses to all uncleanness of living. A Churchman, to speculate on disestablishing the Church, must be as insane as a bank director discussing the capture of London by a German army.

OPINIONS OF CLERGYMEN.

In reply to the *Daily News* to the effect that no such prerogatives as the memorialists claim could be exercised in these days, Dean Church says:—

The Church of Scotland is a National Church, and it exercises by its General Assembly the "prerogatives" which are asked in the address for the Church of England. In the questions of internal discipline, such as the use of organs, which have arisen in Scotland, Parliament has never thought of interfering. What is asked for in England is nothing more than what has been long legal and constitutional in Scotland.—Your obedient servant.

Prebendary Irons, who did not sign the paper because it would make Convocation the judge of doctrine, in a letter to the *Times* thus puts the case of the clergy:—

The difficulty, briefly stated, is this. The Established Church of England is believed by a large proportion of its members, High and Low, to be a religion as well as an Establishment. Englishmen must take account of this, and not fancy they can in an educated age "establish" anything a majority may please and call it a religion. At present it is becoming more and more evident that the gravest questions of religious doctrine and worship, and (as in "Cooke *v.* Jenkins") duty also, may be determined by a civil tribunal.

Do you wish to perpetuate this state of things? Can you do so even if you wish it? Is it desirable or possible to risk the sort of future which this implies for the Established Church? If you are to have an Established Church at all, you cannot do without religious people; and if you have them, you must take them "conscience and all."

Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century ventured very far in defiance of this. The Church, by then clinging to the old creeds and hierarchy, just escaped secularising. But in the present struggle of Christianity itself, it will be quite impossible to take the secular line of the sixteenth century in reference to the national conscience without ruin.

It is not too late to treat the Church as a religion. The religious headship of our Church is the Episcopate in Synod. It would satisfy a majority of Churchmen if, on very grave questions of Christian doctrine, the courts of law were to refer to the Primate (in synod with the Suffragans) before they adjudicated finally in any case. I do not say that this would be a remedy for everything; but it supplies a principle on which the Church might intelligibly rest—in a provisional way, at all events.

Postpone action, says Dr. Irons, and the consequences cannot be declined.

Dean Stanley, preaching on Sunday evening at Westminster Abbey, entreated his hearers not to despair of the future of the Church of England. There were those who were always foreboding the destruction of the broad national character which had been its chief glory. He predicted that it would endure. No doubt some perplexed and difficult questions had arisen in our day which could not be settled in a moment, but he urged them not to believe those cowardly predictions which had been uttered of the destruction or decadence of the Church. The Church would last long after these pusillanimous cries had been forgotten. No doubt there were discussions and differences, but so there had always been, and so there would always be, so long as there was any force of character or strength of will left among us. With regard to the state of England, much of important reform had yet to be effected, no doubt. A great blow would be struck against it if those of high principle and education were to retire and leave the Government in the hands of political agitators. Then, indeed, the sooner the Church, and literature, and science, and education were divorced from the State the better. But our Legislature was not less religious, but far more serious and thoughtful, and therefore more religious than it had ever been. Our judges were not more corrupt, but more high-minded than ever they had been, and our public servants were not more selfish, but less selfish than they had been two centuries ago, and the Legislature was more patriotic than at any period of our history. That freedom of the Church was best secured not by suppressing it under an ecclesiastical yoke, such as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, but under a rule of mutual forbearance and the deliverance from bondage.

The Rev. W. H. Milman, rector of St. Augustine and St. Faith, and Minor Canon of St. Paul's upon the Old Foundation, writes to the *Times* calling attention to a few facts which will enable the public to estimate at its full value the weight which should attach to the first two signatures appended to the clerical address. Mr. Milman says:—

My object in writing is to show by facts how very new-born in Dr. Church and Mr. Gregory this dread of settling questions of ecclesiastical discipline by the sole authority of Parliament must be. For it was only in the course of last year that these two gentlemen solicited and, by their much and persevering asking, obtained first of all an Act of Parliament, and then an Order in Council, for a completely new settlement according to their own views of the discipline of their own Cathedral. The result of their action has been to secure, by the exclusive authority of the State, the real demolition, though some *nominis umbra* may be allowed to remain, of an ecclesiastical corporation which, with certain distinct rights and privileges, had existed as a royal corporation from the time of Richard II., who by royal charter secured to it these rights and privileges, which it is therein stated to have possessed from a time beyond the memory of man. By the exclusive assistance of the State these gentlemen have obtained for themselves alone patronage which they had hitherto shared with the minor canons. By the sole assistance of Parliament these gentlemen have contrived that the future *soi-disant* minor canons, instead of having distinct duties to perform under the protection of the law, are to be perpetually at their beck and call for an indefinite number of services, that they are to be dismissible at pleasure, without any process of law, for whatever the Dean and Chapter may consider a breach of discipline—perhaps the refusal to wear vestments of questionable legality. In a word, by authority of Parliament specially invoked by Dr. Church and Mr. Gregory, the old canonical discipline of St. Paul's has been superseded by a brand-new more or less arbitrary rule devised by Dr. Church and Mr. Gregory, but indebted for its binding force to an Act of Parliament obtained by the active solicitation of these gentlemen.

"A Lay Erastian" disputes altogether the analogy which Dean Church endeavours to establish between the demands of the English High-Church clergy and the power exercised by the Kirk of Scotland:—

The "speaking" voice of the Kirk of Scotland, he says, can only act within the common and statute law of Scotland, and its decisions within that restricted circle are as corrigible by the Court of Session, and on appeal by the House of Lords, as is any abuse of law in the Church of England by the appropriate English tribunals. The voice of the Kirk so restricted is to be found in the General Assembly; but it is composed of laity as well as ministers, and they vote, not by orders, but in common. The "living voice" of the Church of England, to clearly lay down what the law shall be in future, ought, according to the Dean and his unruly associates, to be formed in two Convocations. Being two they might differ in clearly laying down what the law ought to be. In Canterbury there are two Houses of Convocation, which are repeatedly disagreeing. From the Lower House the laity of the Church are excluded. Neither does it properly represent the clergy. Curates have no representation at all in it, beneficed clergy very imperfect representation, and cathedral dignitaries *pro rata* excessive representation. To call this a living voice of anything, but that of the speakers who waste time and annoy the Church, is an abuse of language. To say there is any real identity between it and the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland is to display what for the sake of courtesy I will designate want of ordinary information.

THE GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.

SPEECH OF MR. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P.

At the monthly meeting of Protestant Dissenting ministers of Warwickshire and the neighbouring counties, held at Cradley, on the 3rd inst., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting, while approving of the desire shown by Government to consolidate the Burials Acts, and to place burial-grounds under stringent sanitary regulations, strongly disapproves of those provisions of the Burials Acts Bill by which it is proposed—(1) to afford facilities for the multiplication of burial-grounds, and (2) to allow Dissenters who object to the services of the Church of England to bury their dead in the parish churchyard without any service of any kind; believing that those provisions, framed ostensibly for the relief of Dissenters, would tend to increase and intensify, rather than remove, Dissenting grievances." It was also resolved to petition Parliament to amend the bill.

At the opening of a new Liberal Club at Oswestry last Friday, Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., spoke on a resolution, denouncing the Burials Bill of the Duke of Richmond "as an insult rather than a concession to the Nonconformists." He said that the bill was essentially a dishonest bill, for it created an imaginary grievance and evaded a real one. When this question was declared to be a sanitary one, he could not help asking himself why this discovery had not been made before. How was it that, although sanitary legislation had been the order of the day since the Conservatives came in, although three Public Health Acts had been passed in the last four years, no one had ever complained of the unhealthy state of our churchyards until Mr. Cross last year, at his wit's end for an argument against the burials agitation, had hit upon this backstairs way out of the difficulty? And so this bill, with its eighty-eight clauses, its costly and clumsy machinery, was brought on to settle a problem which he would undertake to solve in six lines. Was not that very much like setting up a steam-engine to crack a nut? Yes; but the worst of it was, the nut was not cracked after all, as they would soon see. For the latest returns would show that there were some churchyards still unclosed in England and Wales. Now, granting for the sake of argument, though the estimate was obviously an exaggeration, that 2,000 of these 12,000 churchyards required to be closed on sanitary grounds, that would still leave a residue of some 10,000 parishes or districts which could not be dealt with on that principle. And how did the bill deal with Dissenters in these 10,000 districts? Well, it invested them with two privileges—first, the privilege of taxing themselves to pay for cemeteries which nobody really wanted; and, secondly, the privilege of being buried like a *felo-de-se*. They had heard a good deal of pains and penalties in past centuries, but he believed that Lord Beaconsfield's Government was the first that had ever put Dissent and self-destruction on the same footing. Talk of living in a balloon! Why, the Duke of Richmond could not have more profoundly misunderstood the feelings and position of the persons for whom he was legislating if he had been born and bred in the planet Jupiter. And then they turned round on him and said that this provision as to silent burial was taken from his own bill. He, however, had introduced it at the instance, and to meet the isolated case of the Scotch Presbyterians, who desired and habitually practised it; and there was all the difference in the world between making a thing permissive in the case of those who desired it, and forcing it, as the only alternative upon those who regarded it with traditional aversion. But the bill was not only an insult to Dissenters, it was a gross injustice to the whole community. It enabled one-twentieth part of the ratepayers—say five persons, for there were many parishes in which the ratepayers did not exceed 100—with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to compel the parish, Churchmen as well as Dissenters, out of their own pockets to provide a useless cemetery and erect two useless chapels. For it was an essential and not the least obnoxious feature of this bill that in every parish to which it was applied it perpetuated, at the expense of the ratepayers, the odious distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground; as if the fact of a bishop walking round a cemetery and muttering over it a form of words—a ceremony, which, by-the-bye, was certainly unauthorised, if not actually illegal—could impart additional sanctity to ground which was already hallowed by the dearest and most sacred associations which bound man to God. But now a word as to the cost of putting this bill in force, unless, as was not unlikely, it was to remain a dead letter. He had studied the subject with some care, and when Mr. Talbot's bill of last year, which was substantially the same bill as this, was before the House of Commons, he had made a calculation the justice of which no one had ventured to impugn, that if that bill were brought into operation in one-third of the parishes of England and Wales it would involve a charge upon the ratepayers of at least three millions sterling. And assuming all this money to be expended, there would still remain some 8,000 parishes in which the grievance which the bill professed to remove would remain absolutely untouched. And this proposal, be it remembered, came from a party whose watchword, both in and out of office, had been the reduction of local taxation; and they had chosen a time when the expenditure of the country was rapidly running ahead of its revenue, when, if report spoke truly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was about to dive with both his hands into their pockets for this wanton assault upon the ratepayers of the country in the exclusive interests of the clergy of the Established Church. He had no great faith in the independence of the present House of Commons, but he could not bring himself to believe that the most obsequious Parliament that ever clung to the coat-tails of a Ministry would have consented to pass such a bill as this. For it was a pretty safe thing to say that before any bill could pass into law in this country it must at least be shown that somebody wanted it. Now, who wanted this bill? Not Churchmen; they had no grievance. Then did Nonconformists want it? The answer might be seen in the resolutions which were pouring in from Nonconformist meetings in every part of the country. Then, why was the bill brought in? He would tell them why. Because under its cover the Government were enabled to run away from a problem which they dare not face—because the grievance, of which he had so long been the feeble spokesman, could no longer be denied, because a daily increasing party in the Church itself was beginning to insist upon its removal. So the Government had tardily and reluctantly come to the conclusion that something must be done. And, instead of grappling with the grievance like men, they had got to work to minimise it, as they called it, as if injustice ceased to be injustice because its area was reduced by one-third! The flood-gates of strife were to be opened in every rural parish, and rate was to be piled upon rate, and those who were nearest and dearest in life were to be divided in death by the hard, undying line of religious controversy, in order that the clergy might be secured in what they called their title to the churchyards. And upon what did that title rest? Upon the egregious fallacy that these parochial burying-grounds were the property of the Established Church. If that were so, how came it that the law permitted—nay, required—those who had never been admitted to, or had been cut off from that Church to be buried there, and actually forbade the incumbent of the parish to interfere with their interment? It was quite true that in the case of those who were ostensibly members of the Church the ecclesiastical law had added to the common law right of interment, the right of the Church Burial Service; but this right, which, when every one was a Churchman, had been a highly-valued privilege, had become a grievous burden when a large portion of the community had ceased to be Churchmen. Thus, it had come to pass that the right of burial was coupled with a condition which made it a mockery. In other words, the law took away with one hand what it gave with the other; and that was a state of things which no body of men could be expected to endure. It was said that his bill would pave the way to disestablishment. If that had been his object, all he could say was that if he read the signs of the times aright the clergy were about to save him the trouble of carrying it out by disestablishing themselves. But be this as it may, let it be clearly understood that if the Duke of Richmond's bill were to pass to-morrow the agitation in favour of opening the national churchyards, so far from being allayed, would only be strengthened and intensified. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the United Nonconformists Committees was held on Wednesday, at Crewe, for the purpose of considering the Burials Acts Consolidation Bill now before Parliament. Mr. R. W. Dale presided. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

"1. That, inasmuch as all parishioners have the common law right to burial in the parochial graveyard, and the restrictions which limit the free exercise of that right and exclude Nonconformist services from the graveyard have been imposed by the ecclesiastical legislation of Parliament, this meeting declares that no settlement of the question can be satisfactory which does not entirely remove those restrictions, and in relation to interments, grant equal rights to all Her Majesty's subjects.

"2. That in a cemetery purchased by rate it is a violation of justice that any part of the cemetery should be reserved for the exclusive use of the ministers and members of any denomination, and this meeting therefore protests against those provisions of the bill under which the parochial cemetery would be divided into consecrated and unconsecrated ground, and under which chapels might be erected at the public expense for the separate use of Episcopalians or any other sect.

"3. While this meeting acknowledges that there are strong sanitary reasons for closing many of the existing parochial graveyards, it objects to the insertion of provisions to effect this sanitary reform in a bill introduced by the Government in fulfilment of a pledge to propose a measure for the removal of the Nonconformist grievance. The demand of the Nonconformists for the free use of the graveyard is not met by a proposal that henceforth it shall be used neither by Nonconformists nor Episcopalians. There is reason to expect that in some cases parishioners will be deprived of the use of their ancient graveyards, and compelled to purchase a new cemetery in order to evade an ecclesiastical difficulty.

"4. In parishes where there is no sanitary reason or excuse for closing existing graveyards, the bill proposes to empower the Local Government Board on the requisition of a small fraction of the population, to compel the local authority to levy a new rate for no other purpose than to protect the Episcopalians in the exclusive enjoyment of property belonging to all the parishioners—the rate to be applied to the purchase of the new cemetery.

"5. In parishes in which the graveyard is not closed, and in which no new cemetery is provided, the bill attempts to meet the claims of Nonconformists to conduct a service of their own over the graves of their friends by the proposal that they shall be permitted to bury their friends without the performance of any religious service or of any other ceremony. This meeting objects to the proposal which classes Nonconformists with persons 'that are unbaptized or excommunicated, or have laid violent hands on themselves' as a gross and gratuitous insult to all the Nonconformists in the United Kingdom.

"6. This meeting further protests against the provision contained in the bill for giving the bishop of the diocese authority in any part of a cemetery purchased by a public rate, and especially to the clauses which enable the bishop or archbishop to insist on the expenditure of public money to put the consecrated part of the ground into what may be considered a proper condition for burial according to the rites of the Church of England.

"7. The meeting expresses to the Right Hon. the Earl of Granville its cordial gratitude for the promptness and vigour with which he expressed his dissatisfaction with the bill as a measure intended to redress the injustice at present inflicted on Nonconformists, and earnestly hopes that he will oppose the bill in every stage of its progress through the Upper House."

Representatives were present at the meeting from Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, and Wolverhampton, and letters favouring the object of the meeting were read from the London Committee.

At a meeting of the Manchester Liberal Association, on Thursday, Mr. Leake presiding, the Burials Bill was discussed, and a resolution passed to the effect, that the bill, instead of removing, considerably increases the injustice under which Nonconformists suffer, perpetuates offensive class legislation in favour of the Established Church, against which Dissenters have so long protested, and deprives them of equal rights with other parishioners in the public graveyards of the country. The chairman was requested to sign a petition to Parliament against the bill on behalf of the meeting.

The Liverpool Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in England on Monday adopted a petition against the Government Burials Bill, on the ground that the measure not only fails to provide for the exercise of the rights of all parishioners in the parish churchyards, "but also perpetuates the existing grievances of Nonconformists in a more aggravated form."

It will be seen from an advertisement elsewhere that the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales have passed a series of resolutions condemning the Burials Bill, and recommending that energetic measures should be taken to oppose it at every stage.

It seems that the English Church Union, as well as the Church Defence Institution, are getting up petitions on the Burials question. The form recommended by the E.C.U. "earnestly protests against any bill having for its object the legalisation in the churchyards or churches of the Church of England of the use of any service at the burial of the dead not sanctioned by the said Church, or the officiating therein of any person not now authorised by law so to do, because such changes would be an invasion of the rights of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, and would be subversive of her religious discipline, and tend to her disruption."

RELIGIOUS EQUALITY AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

The House of Commons notice-paper contains nearly ten pages of amendments to be moved in Committee on the Universities Bill brought in by the Government. Several of these have, as their object, the complete carrying out of the principle involved, but only partially adopted, in the University Test Abolition Act of 1871, viz., that the Universities exist for the benefit, not of the members of the Church of England, but of the entire community, without regard to religious distinctions. Some of them aim at accomplishing the same object by different methods, and probably will not be pressed; but others, and notably those which stand in Mr. Goschen's name, may be regarded as amendments which will call forth the full strength of the Liberal party, in divisions likely to be among the most important of the session.

Sir Charles Dilke will move the omission of Clause 13, which prevents the commissioners altering any of the conditions of any endowment created within the last fifty years.

Mr. Osborne Morgan will move the omission of Clause 14, which obliges the commissioners to have regard to the main design of the founder, unless it has already ceased to be observed.

Mr. Hanbury (Clause 16) proposes to enable the Universities to sell advowsons of which they have the patronage. He will also move the insertion of the words, "but not so as to make the entering into holy orders, or the taking of any test, a condition of elegibility or appointment to any such emolument or office."

Mr. Goschen (Clause 17) will move the proviso, "*That no headship or fellowship shall be attached under this scheme to an ecclesiastical office.*"

Lord F. Cavendish proposes (on Clause 17) a similar amendment to that of Mr. Hanbury's on the previous clause relating to the sale of advowsons.

Clause 18 allows of provision being made for religious instruction and college services; with the proviso that the commissioners "shall not make the entering into holy orders, or the taking of any test, a condition of the holding of any headship, or fellowship *to which that condition is not at the passing of this Act attached.*" Mr. Dodson proposes the omission of the italicised words; as well as other amendments to increase the stringency of the clause. Sir Charles Dilke has another amendment to effect the same object.

Mr. Goschen proposes to add to Clause 21 (which allows the continuance of voluntary payments now made out of college revenues), a proviso, that in estimating the income of the college, "no such

payment shall be taken into account as part of the necessary, or ordinary expenditure of the college." The object of this is to prevent the colleges augmenting the value of college livings, and then pleading inability to contribute to the wants of the University. Sir Charles Dilke objects to the clause *in toto*.

Mr. Dodson and Lord E. Fitzmaurice have amendments eliminating the visitors of the colleges—most of whom are bishops—in connection with the approval of schemes.

Mr. Goschen (Clause 25), proposes the severance, after a vacancy, of the canonry in Rochester Cathedral from the provostship of Oriel College.

He also proposes the following new clause (after 55)—"*The commissioners, in statutes made by them for a college, shall provide that the entering into, or being in, holy orders, shall not be the condition of the holding of any headship or fellowship.*"

It is believed that these amendments embrace all the points in which the friends of religious equality are most interested, and when the bill goes into committee—as it will do so shortly—their wishes in the matter should be clearly understood by their representatives.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

An active correspondence is going on between the Vatican and the German bishops with regard to the relations of the latter with the Imperial Government. The Pope is anxious not to offend the bishops, and he has commissioned Cardinal Ledochowski to formulate a series of questions to which each bishop will return an answer, and in this way the policy to be pursued will be indicated. The permission granted by the Pope to the Italian bishops to obtain the royal *exequatur* has produced a bad impression among the Prussian prelates, who accuse the Holy See of allowing in Italy what it withholds in Germany. From Berlin an explanation of this fact has been requested, and the Vatican is doing all it can to allay the resentment of the German bishops. In the meantime, many dignitaries of the Roman Curia are doubtful of Prince Bismarck's sincerity, and think he is laying a trap for them.

The Catholic Congress which has been sitting in Paris held its concluding meeting on Saturday night under the presidency of Monsignor Freppel. There was a large attendance. In the course of the proceedings M. Chesnelong stated that the Paris Catholic Committee, which was dissolved by order of the authorities on the 28th ult., had addressed a letter of protest to the prefect of police, one passage of which runs as follows :—

It is evidently in obedience to a minority incited by demagogic passions against Catholics that the Government has taken this deplorable decision. Though the order may be in conformity with the letter of the law, it evidently distorts its spirit, and it can scarcely be admitted that those whom it concerns are regarded as enemies of the law and promoters of disorder. On these grounds the former members of the Catholic Committee of Paris feel compelled to request explanations from the Prefect of Police on the following points: —1. What reasons have induced the authorities to adopt this measure? 2. What conditions will the authorities impose for the reconstruction of the Catholic Committee?

The reading of the protest was received with immense cheering. M. Chesnelong recommended a calm and dignified attitude.

A petition addressed to Marshal MacMahon and the Chambers has been drawn up for signature by the Catholics of France respecting the position of the Pope. It recites that the Pope, deprived of his temporal power, daily sees fresh obstacles to the government of the Universal Church; that, through recent legislation and impending measures still more dangerous, there is a fear of his being soon entirely prevented from communicating with the Catholic world. It proceeds to say :—

In view of so serious a situation occupied by the Papacy, the centre of their religious unity and the guarantee of the integrity of their faith, the undersigned, French citizens and Catholics, feel it their duty to appeal to you. They ask you to employ all the means which are in your power to make the Holy Father's independence respected, to protect his Administration, and to insure the Catholics of France the indispensable enjoyment of a liberty dearer than all others—that of their conscience and faith.

A report was spread in Rome on Sunday that the Pope was dead; but on the same day His Holiness gave audience to a large deputation of French Catholics. There is, however, no doubt that the physical condition of Pius IX. is one of considerable depression, against which, with much force of will, he makes a determined struggle. According to medical opinion his sleeplessness and languor have not been overcome, and the closest attention is paid to any symptom which might indicate a failure of vitality, and be followed by collapse. The *Italie* announces that the Count of Chambord has written to the Pope expressing his desire to go to Rome, and protesting against the encroachments upon the liberty of the Pontiff. Another "Pretender," Don Carlos, has been requested by the Curia to desist for the present from attempts to stir up revolution in Spain. King Alfonso has promised, it is said, to take part in the new Roman question on behalf of the Pope, and therefore he must not be disturbed by domestic intrigue.

The Pope is stated to have himself laid down the various regulations to be observed at the grand services to be given in St. Peter's on the occasion of his episcopal jubilee. The *Times* correspondent writes :—

In order to exclude the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Quirinal, and all other persons obnoxious to the Vatican, from assisting at the mass, which is to be celebrated with the pomp used anterior to 1871, His Holiness has instructed Cardinal Simeoni to issue tickets, and grant them only to persons he may think it advisable to admit within the Vatican. There is manifest a steadily-increasing determination to turn the opportunities of the moment to the fullest account. At the same time, however, the right to religious liberty of action, as understood by the Catholics, is solely to be insisted upon, leaving the question of temporal power for the moment as much out of sight as possible.

On Sunday the Papal Allocution delivered by Pius IX. to his cardinals at Rome on March 12 was read aloud at high mass in all the Roman Catholic churches and chapels in the "archdiocese" of Westminster, and also, probably, in the other parts of the United Kingdom.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

On Friday evening a public meeting, convened under the auspices of the West End Liberal Association, in favour of disestablishment, was held in the Music Hall, George-street. There was a large attendance of ministers of various denominations and of well-known laymen. Amongst the latter was Mr. J. F. Bottomley Firth, of the London School Board, who represented the Liberation Society at the meeting. On the motion of Councillor Steel, Mr. John Dick Peddie, Edinburgh, was called to preside, and the proceedings were commenced with prayer, offered by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, Edinburgh. The secretary (Mr. W. H. Thomson) read letters of apology for absence for a number of friends, after which the chairman read a letter from Mr. M'Laren, M.P., in which after a reference to the early voluntary controversy in Scotland forty years ago he said :—

As to disestablishment, apart from the abstract Voluntary principle, I am equally in favour of it—(cheers)—and showed my opinion on the last occasion when my friend Mr. Edward Miall moved the question in the House of Commons, when I seconded his motion by request, and spoke in its favour. I may add that as regards disestablishment in Scotland, I am of opinion that when it takes place, the funds now given to the Church should be devoted to education—(cheers)—as a substitute for the school-rates now levied in every parish. To prevent misconception in any quarter, I think it right to explain that I would not desire to deprive any existing minister of the Church of Scotland of any advantage which he now enjoys from stipend, or manse, or in any other way. (Cheers.)

A letter was also read from Principal Harper, who expressed regret that his many engagements would not allow him to be present, and expressed a hope that the effect of the meeting would be the furthering of a cause which was evidently advancing towards a final settlement, "to the advantage, he believed, of all the churches, and not least to the true interest of the Established Church itself." (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN, who was cordially received, then addressed the meeting. He said, after a few preliminary remarks, they were told that the question of disestablishment was not ripe; that by forcing it on public attention they only deferred the time of its general acceptance; and by some Liberals they were told that they run the risk of breaking up the Liberal party, or at least of retarding the process of its reconstruction. They were therefore advised to let it alone till the public was more prepared for it. Mr. Peddie went on to say :—

To the advice of neither of these classes of advisers am I disposed to give much heed. Many of those who say the question is not ripe express their own readiness for disestablishment. They say that in twenty or ten or fewer years it will come, that it is only a question of time, but at present it should be let alone. But how can any question become ripe if it be let alone? What is to ripen it if discussion and agitation are not the means? If we are not to press our claims and publicly discuss a question until it is ripe, there would be no need of public discussion at all. It is not by silent waiting and inaction that any great question can be brought to maturity. It was not thus that any of the great measures in the recent history of the country were carried. But for discussion and agitation, where would have been Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, the abolition of slavery, the abolition of the corn laws? We might have been standing still with regard to these questions if we had followed the policy of our tide-waiting friends, vainly looking for that rise of the waters which was to carry us, without effort of our own, into our desired port. (Cheers.) The ripeness of public feeling may fix the moment for political action, but it ought never to affect or prevent the utterance of our principles, or the urging of our demands. If the question is not ripe it is for us to ripen it—(Hear, hear)—and I trust that the light and the warmth which will be shed on it at this meeting will hasten its maturity in this city at least. But ripe or not ripe, we cannot let the question stand. We believe ourselves to be entrusted with a great principle which we are bound to maintain and proclaim. Its triumph may be near at hand or far off, but our duty with regard to it is the same. Whether the adoption of what we hold to be right comes in our time or not, we shall at least, if we do our duty, have the satisfaction of knowing that, whenever it may come, we shall have had a part, however humble, in its final triumph. No step in the assertion of the civil and religious liberties of the nation has been the result of one effort after a silent maturing of public opinion. It has been the result of long-continued labours and struggles on the part of thousands of individual men, whose names may be forgotten, but each of whom has had an honourable part in building up the noble fabric of our liberties. I trust, therefore, that we shall have no share in advising or adopting a standstill policy. (Cheers.) But indeed the Dissenters of Scotland have already too long practised the art of standing still. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) They have already done so for about thirty-five years. The Voluntary agitation began in 1832, and had not lasted long, before, chiefly as its effect, the Non-intrusion controversy sprang up in the Established Church. It soon became apparent that the end of that conflict must be to rend asunder that great and venerable institution. It may then have been right that those who had been fighting the battle of religious liberty should stand aside to see this great sight. It may have been right to continue so to stand while the Free Church was working out its organisation and was furnishing the most splendid demonstration of the power of the Voluntary principle which the world has seen—(cheers)—but it was not right that when this work was fairly done they should continue inert when it seemed as if their principles were being forgotten or ignored. We have suffered the consequences of being silent on great principles in the difficulty which has been found in reviving the zeal of the Voluntaries of Scotland on the question of disestablishment. I trust we shall never again fall into the same mistake. But we cannot, if we would, let the question rest. Disestablishment, as was said at the late meeting of the Free Church Presbytery of this city, is in the air. It comes up in constant references to it in Parliament, in society, in political meetings, in newspapers, and periodical literature. The word has become familiar to us. The question arises within the Establishments themselves. Burial Bills, retrograde school legislation for England, Universities Bills, bills for the regulation of public worship in the English Church, and for the abolition of patronage in the Church of Scotland, have aroused with regard to it the action of the Ritualists in England and of the Free Church, the reports of whose Presbytery discussions have lately filled whole pages of our papers. It is no small source of satisfaction to all who have our cause at heart to see the aid which has sprung up in most unexpected quarters. The Ritualists, headed by the martyr of St. James', Hatcham, are doing our work. The principle they maintain is indeed a great one, not less than the spiritual independence of the Church of Christ. In their struggle for this we are ready to give them all the aid we can, but on one condition—that they seek this spiritual independence not inside but outside the Established Church. (Cheers.) They want two things which are inconsistent—State support and prestige, and the freedom which can only be enjoyed at the expense of the abandonment of these advantages. With regard to the Free Church, we must rejoice at the advance which it has made towards true principle, and must hail it as an ally. The grounds of the action of many of its members and even of some of its leaders may not be so clear as we should like, and this want of clearness finds not unfitting expression in those involved overtures with which we have been lately made familiar. But whatever we may think of their reasons, we can cordially approve of their end, and we shall not quarrel with them, if they come to the same goal, though it should be by a road different from that on which we tread. Let us accept their aid, and bear with their shortcomings, and what we think their imperfect light, remembering that it is comparatively recently that they left the Established Church, and that they have not yet wholly extricated themselves from the mists which continually brood about that neighbourhood. And now, with regard to those who tell us that in urging this question we injure the Liberal party, I can only say that the Liberal party seems to be without a definite policy or a programme. It halted on its course and offended many of its truest supporters, especially the Nonconformists of England. With the exception of the equalisation of the burgh and county franchise, there is hardly a single point on which the Liberal party is united. The only section of the party which seems to have life in it or definite aims is the party of disestablishment. (Cheers.) But those who contend for what they believe to be great principles want to see them inscribed on the Liberal banner. They feel that a negative policy can never restore the party to its former place, and that popular feeling will never decidedly declare for the Liberal leaders until there is something definite and noble to call it forth. They claim, therefore, that the question of disestablishment shall now be brought into the field of practical politics, that it shall be made part of the Liberal programme, and that wherever it can be done without the risk of throwing Parliamentary seats into the hands of the Conservatives, it should be required of Liberal candidates that they be not only sound but decided on this point. That we should desist from agitating the question for fear of dividing the Liberal party is a request to which I trust, therefore, we shall all turn a deaf ear. What is the value of that party to us but as it supports liberal measures? I can understand how it might be disloyal to the Liberal party to make the adoption by it, as a whole, of the cause of disestablishment a condition of our continuing in it, but I cannot understand how allegiance to the party can require that we shall be silent or shall refrain from leading the country to right views on this great question. But we claim to be the best friends of the Liberal party and of Liberal principle, when we seek the disestablishment of the Churches of England and Scotland, for these institutions in their very nature and in their past actings have ever proved the greatest obstacles to true reform. This may not be the highest ground of objection to them. That, doubtless, lies in their injurious influence on religion itself. That establishments are opposed to the spirit of our religion, to the examples of its early history, to its express appointments, that they have served to corrupt its doctrines, to tarnish its reputation, and retard its advance, must ever appear their deepest offence in the eyes of all who recognise these evils.

After some further remarks, the Chairman sat down amid loud applause.

The Rev. G. MACAULAY then moved the following resolution :—

That the system of the State Establishment of religion embodied in the Established Churches of England and Scotland is unjust in principle, impolitic and injurious to the interests of all churches and citizens outside the pale of the Establishment, as it maintains class privileges, creates distinctions on religious grounds which ought not to exist in a free State, and imposes the obligation of supporting ecclesiastical institutions and religious tenets on those who dissent from them; that therefore it should be brought to a termination with all convenient speed by an Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment which would place the various sections of the religious public on a footing of equality before the law. (Applause.)

The speaker supported the resolution in a long and animated speech, to which we regret our limits will not allow us to do justice. In the course of it he said that those with whom he acted wished that the Established Churches should have the entire control of their own affairs; and such control they could not have so long as the bond subsisted between them and the State. The reformation of the Established Church had been attempted by Lord Beaconsfield and the Duke of Richmond, with the aid of one of Scotland's noblest men, the Duke of Argyll; but the reformation they had effected was a reformation backwards and downwards—(applause and hisses)—a reformation which had given a mightier impulse to the cause of disestablishment than the cause had received for thirty years. (Applause.) Not only so; the reformation had revealed and developed evils that formerly were passive and latent, and brought them into intense action, so that it was manifest now to all but those who were blinded by partisanship that reformation by Parliamentary action would not cure the prevailing evils. It was because he held this view that he was there, not seeking the destruction of the Established Churches, or attempting the hopeless task of their reformation, but seeking to put them in such a position that they might be free to reform themselves. (Applause.)

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Dunse, who denied that disestablishment would cut off the life of the Church. Was the Free Church destroyed when she cut her connection with the State by her own hand. (Cheers.) Rather was she planted on a very fruitiful hill, and had become more powerful and more useful than ever before. Were the United Presbyterian Church and the other Nonconforming Churches in the land destroyed because they had never had a connection with the State? No. Rather they were strong and useful, and they had vital power, a religious life within them, because they were free from State control and State support. (Applause.) The liberty then that they enjoyed themselves they desired to see others enjoy—(Hear)—and the equal religious rights they claimed for all they claimed for themselves; and therefore they demanded as a right the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Established Churches in these lands now and for ever. (Great applause.)

Mr. J. B. Firth, of the Liberation Society, supported the resolution. He said that, considering the part which Scotland was to play in the disestablishment controversy, it had appeared to the Executive Committee of the Society that it ought to hold out to them the right-hand of fellowship, and welcome them as comrades in the great battle-field. In England there were grievances of a much more extensive character than those with which the Scotch had to deal, and consequently the work there carried on was proportionately greater, although, he trusted, not more earnest. Referring to the burials question in England, he remarked that the measure by which the present Government proposed to settle it was degrading and insulting to the Nonconformists. If the Conservative Government had only the courage to propose it, there was a way out of the difficulty—viz, the course which the Catholic Bishop of Montreal took in regard to M. Guibord, whose burial excited such disturbance there. The Bishop said that the particular place in which M. Guibord was interred should henceforth be unconsecrated ground. Now, why not let the Nonconformists bury in the parish churchyards of England, and let the bishops fulminate a decree that every piece of ground holding a Nonconformist should be unconsecrated. (Laughter and applause.) He was sure they should not sleep any the less quietly on that account. Referring to the present condition of the Church of England, he said he should be sorry to make such a statement as was made by Canon Ryle the other day. The Canon said the Church of England always reminded him of the Zoological Gardens; only, in the gardens the clean beasts were by sevens and the unclean beasts by twos; whereas in the Church the clean beasts were by two and the unclean by sevens. (Laughter.) At all events, there was the very broadest distinction between its members; and if they were united on any one point, it was in their decision to concede nothing to the Nonconformists. Alluding to the recent school board election in London, as an example of the lengths to which the Church party would go against their political opponents, he went on to speak of the Hatcham case, and said that, if Mr. Tooth were honest, he should make good the principle of spiritual independence outside the Church he had contracted to obey, and away from the prestige he still wished to possess as a parish priest. Mr. Firth proceeded to criticise in the same strain the document recently sent to the bishops of the Church of England by the Ritualists in regard to the spiritual independence of the Church. In closing, he said he wished, on behalf of the society he represented, to urge forward the Scotch friends of disestablishment in the good work. In the battle they were fighting, disestablishment would come first for the Church of Scotland—(applause)—and when the people of Scotland spoke upon the question in tones that were not uncertain, the Legislature would listen to them. (Renewed applause.) Then there would only be left the Church of England for Parliament to deal with. They ought to strive that when the Liberal platform of the future came to be put together, disestablishment should be in it. It was true that the Liberal leaders had not yet pronounced upon this important question, but it would be found that when the public had formed their opinion on it, the leaders would be prepared to follow and carry the matter through. (Applause.) Of course they should necessarily have the opposition of the clergy; they had always opposed all measures of public progress and liberty. Nevertheless the work would be done, and he believed it would prove greatly for the benefit of the Church and of the country when it was accomplished. (Applause.)

The resolution, on being put to the meeting, was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Hutton, Paisley, who was very heartily received, moved the second resolution:—

That the recent legislation of the Patronage Act, by which a section of the religious community is invested with legal powers to appoint minister to benefices, and so to dispense the patronage of the State, while the obligation to support these ministers remains upon the country, illustrates the injustice of the system, and makes more necessary the demand for its discontinuance. That all new legislation in behalf of the State churches can only be regarded as an aggravation of the existing wrong; and that no legislation which comes short of disestablishment and disendowment (with reserve of personal interests affected by the change), and of providing for the application of the liberated funds to some truly unsectarian and national purpose, can satisfy the ends of justice.

He believed there was not a riper question at this moment, either in Scotland or England, which a Liberal party might take up and carry to a triumphant issue, than the question of disestablishment. (Applause.) It was not the people that were so far from being ripe as it was the leaders, who from various causes had long shown, and still showed, a great reluctance to undertake legislation on this question. Why, he asked, should the State system continue? Was it for the benefit of religion or of the State? Christianity was not more dependent on the State for its success and prosperity than literature or free thought; than poetry was dependent on the Laureateship, philosophy upon blue books, liberty on the Slave Circular—(laughter)—charity on the poor-laws, or the bread of the people on protection. In fact, State Churches were just what the Corn Laws were in other days—they protected a certain class of ecclesiastical traders and landlords; that was all. It was important they should notice the tactics of those who defended State Churches, because some of their friends fell before those tactics. He found, for instance, that one point was to divert attention from the subject, to assume an air of lofty attention to and absorption in other subjects that were supposed to be far greater. Even the secular press adopted that policy. Nothing would serve some of the organs of the secular press but those great religious topics which were of the profoundest interest to the human mind—the inspiration of the Scriptures, for example, and the cream of the Confession of Faith. All this helped to divert people from the question of disestablishment. One of the most successful adopters of these tactics was the very eminent dignitary of the English Church who visited Scotland from time to time. The Dean of Westminster had come down in his cloud upon St. Andrews to teach the youth of that place how to shoot. He became a solemn Mentor, and told them there were greater questions than disestablishment that ought to engage them; that they should do well to remember the fine maxim of Archbishop Leighton, to leave preaching to the times to others, and to keep preaching to eternity. Now, he, for one, was willing to hear the Dean preach; he was willing to be stirred up to Christian zeal by his exhortations; he was willing to be reminded of the pauperism that existed, and the huge vices that polluted society, though he trusted they did not need the Dean of Westminster to direct the attention of a good many of them to these things. But what then? Should they cease to demand disestablishment? He answered, no. He said in the words of a higher wisdom than the Dean's—"These things ought ye to do, but not to leave the other undone." (Applause.) Another way by which it was sought to divert them from the question at issue was what might be called the putting in a plea of good behaviour on the part of the Church. They were told that the Church of Scotland had done a great work; but, while he did not disparage that work, he quoted statistics to show that the Free and U.P., and other Dissenting Churches had done much more since they existed, for the spread of religion in the country than the Church of Scotland had done since the Reformation. The Established Church, however, forgot to tell them that every addition made to the existing property would just increase the little bill which the people would have to pay in the day of disestablishment, as they hoped, after the Irish fashion. (Laughter and applause.) What they saw was just the ecclesiastical ant providing her meat in the summer. He went on to argue, as was affirmed in the motion, that the system of establishment was one of injustice; and pointed out that such concessions as were made in the Patronage Act were a mockery and delusion. Every new piece of legislation was just a new turn of the screw of privilege, so that whatever was done was done to the advantage of one section of the religious community. The remedy was that which the motion referred to; and he was glad it was one that created no alarm, not even in Edinburgh. Not a single person would lose a penny by disestablishment or disendowment. As to what was to be done with the funds, after life interests had been satisfied, he remarked that it was in that city the suggestion was thrown out, but it must have been in a playful manner, that the funds liberated by disestablishment should go to foreign missions. Only let them fancy what would happen if they attempted to put that into execution. There would be a scramble for the property; there would be discussion in Parliament; and the question would be raised whether this or that portion of it should go to the Jews or Gentiles. They should have Lord Derby, and perhaps Lord Beaconsfield, insisting that it should go to the Turks—(great laughter and some hisses)—or they might have the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Gladstone pleading hard for the Bulgarians. Then they should be torn to pieces at election times by those who wished it to go to China, and those who wished it to go to Japan or to the Livingstonia mission. To make any proposal of that kind was just to overlook the essentials of the case. This might be plainly said about the money, that whatever was done with it, it must not go to the churches, or for religious purposes. To use a good word, which some did not like, the funds must be secularised. That was to say, they must be applied to some purpose that should be utterly and plainly separated from the interests of religious sects and parties, and in which all the nation might equally share. (Applause.) As to the question, to whom the churches that were being erected by private means should belong when disestablishment occurred, he indicated it as his opinion that, if these were made State property before disestablishment, they must remain State property after it. What, he went on to ask, stopped the way to disestablishment? He thought it was not the power of the Church party, numerical or moral; but it was the timidity and the unwise complaisance of many of the Dissenters of Scotland. It was the false Liberalism of many who professed that creed; it was the assumption that they were the proper parties to guide the Liberal policy on the part of certain persons who so crowded round the helm of State that no others could obtain their share in the Government. He thought, also, that something was due to the state of the press. The day was now past when they ought to deal in instalments. The half-loaf might do for those who solicited alms, but they were asking for justice, and they should be satisfied with nothing less than the whole substantial result of disendowment and disestablishment. (Applause.)

Professor Cairns, in seconding the resolution, referred to the recent utterances of Dean Stanley at St. Andrews, not with the view of discussing the Dean's doctrines, but to show the undesirableness of establishing an institution which gave to those within it the prestige attaching to functionaries of the State, and which raised in others a sense of injustice that such views as had been uttered should be advocated by ministers in that influential position. He questioned whether at any time anything said by a high authority in addressing such an audience had called forth so strong a complaint and protest on the part of all sections of the Christian Church in this country as what was said by Dean Stanley had done; more especially when he said that there was vouchsafed to Spinoza a larger and clearer view of the nature of Divinity than was given to the Synod of Dort. He wished to keep Dean Stanley free from the risk of doing anything in the name of the British nation which, he ventured to say, to a large part of the British nation, and to the great majority of the Scotch people, was entirely repugnant. He felt that was one strong argument for disestablishment at all times, and especially so in the present day. Replying to an article in the *Spectator* which advocated the maintenance of Established Churches, on the ground that they ensured comprehension and breadth, and liberality in the treatment of religious questions, the Professor denied that they found such an amount of mutual forbearance or good understanding among members of the Established Church, say of England, as the use of such an argument would lead them to expect. They knew there were serious strifes and discords within that Church, and he believed there were more liberality and kindly feeling towards its members among those outside of it, than there was among those in it to those outside, or to those of their fellow-members who differed from them. He protested against the idea that the Established Church was the sole refuge of Liberal and comprehensive thought in this country, and even if the principle of comprehension were a sound one, he held that there was a monopoly created in favour of the Established Church which ought not to exist. They must separate the Church from the State, so that all bodies and all opinions might stand in the eye of the law on a platform of perfect freedom and fairness. (Applause.)

This resolution was also unanimously carried.

The Rev. Mr. Adamson, without comment, the hour being now late, moved the third resolution:—

That this meeting claims for the Disestablishment question a right to be made prominent in the programme of legislation, and to receive the faithful political support of the friends of enlightened progress in the constituencies in order to its being duly advocated and promoted in Parliament.

Mr. Omond, advocate, seconded, and the resolution was also unanimously passed.

The last resolution, which was moved by Councillor Campbell, Greenock, and seconded by Mr. Melville Bell, and adopted, was—

That a petition to Parliament founded on these resolutions be prepared under the direction of the committee, signed by the chairman in the name of the meeting, and forwarded for presentation.

On the motion of Councillor Steel, a vote of

thanks was passed to the speakers; and a similar compliment having been paid to the chairman, on the motion of Mr. MACAULAY, the proceedings were brought to a close by that gentleman pronouncing the benediction.

In commenting upon this meeting the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, which reports the proceedings at great length, says:—

The magnificent meeting which was held in the Music Hall last evening, was the fruit of a workingman's organisation at the West-end. We are justified, therefore, in concluding that the circumstances having entirely changed since 1834, when Mr. M'Laren began his long and honourable career as a reformer in matters civil and ecclesiastical, the result of the agitation that is now beginning in the land may be different in its ultimate issue. The position, indeed, is entirely changed. In place of the powerful and still united Church of 1834, claiming to embrace at least two thirds of the people, assailed by a feeble minority of voluntaries, we have the various Free Churches, numbering two-thirds of the nation, arrayed against the Establishment, which could not rally to its aid one-third of the ratepayers in almost any parish in the land. . . . . The meeting was practically of one mind, though once or twice slight disturbances were made by a few lads in the gallery. Its influence as a demonstration of working-men's opinion will not stop where it ended last night, and we trust to hear of similar meetings held shortly in other places, animated by the same laudable purposes, and guided by the same moderation and high quality of tone.

OTHER MEETINGS.

BLACKBURN.—Mr. Gordon replied to Mr. Berger last Thursday evening, Mr. Councillor Beads in the chair. The chairman made a vigorous speech, and Mr. Gordon was well received. Mr. Gordon went through easily all Mr. Berger's points, and his replies were admirably appreciated. A little discussion took place at the close, but it was of small importance.

TYNEMOUTH.—A first meeting on the question of disestablishment was held in this quiet sea-side town on the evening of Wednesday, April 4, when the Rev. James Browne, B.A., lectured with much force in reply to "The Arguments of Church Defenders." Telling speeches were added by the chairman, Mr. H. B. S. Thompson, the Rev. Alfred Norris, J. R. Procter, Esq., and other gentlemen; and resolutions were unanimously passed thanking the lecturer, and endorsing the principles of the Liberation Society.

ROTHBURY.—The undisturbed quiet of this Conservative village was somewhat stirred on Thursday, April 5, by the novelty of a Liberation meeting and lecture, in the Assembly Room, over which Mr. J. C. Mitchison presided. "The Principles and Aims of the Liberation Society" were clearly detailed and explained by the lecturer, the Rev. James Browne, B.A., and votes of thanks and approval were advocated by leading inhabitants who occupied the platform, and unanimously passed by the audience. Several new members were added to the society.

FENSTANTON, HUNTS.—A most interesting and successful meeting was held here on Thursday evening last, to hear Mr. Lummis's lecture on "The Counter-Reformation Movement." The Rev. T. Lloyd presided, and on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Terry hearty thanks were given to the lecturer.

NEEDINGWORTH, HUNTS.—On Friday evening a large and appreciative audience gave Mr. Lummis a cordial hearing on the same subject. The Rev. T. Lloyd again presided. Unanimous vote. New ground.

WALPOLE ST. PETER, NEAR WISBEACH.—For the first time Liberation principles have been proclaimed in this parish, Mr. Lummis lecturing, on Tuesday evening last, on "Stock Objections to Disestablishment." There was a large and appreciative audience, which heartily endorsed the disestablishment policy. Mr. Simpole presided.

TILNEY FEN END.—Mr. Lummis visited this important district on Wednesday evening, and but for the occurrence of a severe storm would have had a crowded meeting. As it was, he had a hearty reception and an entreaty to go again.

HAYES, MIDDLESEX.—4th April. Mr. Loader lectured here. At the close, the chairman, the Rev. R. C. Bardens, and Mr. Wells spoke heartily in favour of disestablishment. As this was a first meeting in this retired and scattered district many looked askance at the project, and thanks are due to the Baptist friends for lending their commodious Tabernacle.

HOUNSLOW.—On Wednesday, the 4th inst., Mr. G. Kearley delivered an address on disestablishment in the Town Hall, Mr. Dew in the chair. There was a most respectable audience, which very healthily endorsed the lecturer's views. On the motion of the Rev. J. D. Kilburn, of Isleworth, a cordial vote of thanks was given to Mr. Kearley.

LUTON.—Mr. Fisher lectured in the spacious Plait Hall on Thursday evening on "A Plea for a Free Churchyard." There was a very large attendance. Mr. H. Blundell (Wesleyan) occupied the chair, and made an able speech. At the close of the lecture, which was listened to with the greatest attention throughout, questions were put and answered. Cordial votes of thanks were given to lecturer and chairman.

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. J. H. GORDON.—We observe in the *Blackburn Times* of last Saturday a report of a meeting held in the Chapel-street School to present a testimonial to Mr. Gordon in recognition of that gentleman's most successful advocacy of the principles of the Liberation Society. The *Blackburn Times* says that the testimonial was in acknowledgment of the way in which Mr. Gordon "did battle in a manner honourable to himself and with credit to the cause," and that it was expressive of "admiration of his talents and exertions." Mr. T. Hind presided on the occasion, and the testimonial was in the form of a beautiful silver cake-basket. Mr. Gordon made a most appropriate speech on the occasion.

In the House of Commons on Friday, the Halifax Vicar's Rate Bill, which has already passed the Upper House, was read a third time and passed.

The Marriage with a Deceased's Wife's Sister Bill stands for second reading on Wednesday next, when Lord Francis Hervey will move that it be read that day six months.

THE BURIAL QUESTION IN FRANCE.—A Protestant residing near Bordeaux has just died. The mayor, a Catholic, had his grave dug in a part of the cemetery appropriated to murderers and suicides. The consistory complained to the prefect, who ordered that the corpse should be exhumed and interred in another spot. The mayor dared not disobey the prefect, but perversely had the removal effected in the dead of night. This affair is making a great stir in Bordeaux.

ANOTHER HIGH-CHURCH MOVEMENT.—The establishment in the West-end of London of a religious guild of an extraordinary character is reported in the *Morning Post*. The new institution bears the title of "The Society of the Love of Jesus," and with the single exception of the vicar, who is comparatively a young man, consists entirely of female members, between the ages of sixteen and thirty. Amongst the stipulations are that no member will read any book which has not been submitted to the vicar or the lady warden, that they all dress simply and modestly, avoid all extravagances, abstain from all improper places of amusement, and never of free choice attend any place of worship which is not in union with the Church of England.

THE IRISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The Dublin correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* writes:—"The General Synod of the Irish Church meets again in Dublin on the 10th inst.; and in preparation for the controversies which always occur at this gathering, the revision and anti-revision parties are issuing appeals and printed papers containing arguments for their favourite views. Revision of the Prayer-book has now been seven years under the attention of the synod, and nothing has yet been definitively done. The next most important subject will be the reorganisation of the Divinity School of Trinity College, upon which a commission of inquiry is also at present sitting in Dublin."

SENIOR WRANGLERS.—We lately gave a list of senior wranglers of Cambridge, who were not members of the Church of England. An error having been pointed out, we have made careful inquiries, and have now reason to believe that the following is a correct list:—1860, Stirling; 1861, Aldis; 1862, Barker; 1866, Morton; 1867, Niven; 1868, Moulton; 1869, Hartog; 1871, Hopkinson; 1873, Harding; 1875, Lord; 1877, McAlister. This goes beyond any statement we have yet made; for it shows that in eleven years, out of seventeen, this great mark of academic distinction has been carried off by one who has not belonged to the Church of England! It is an astonishing and highly suggestive fact.—*The Liberator.*

ST. JAMES'S, HATCHAM.—At the Easter vestry of this parish the parishioners by nine to one elected an anti-Ritualist churchwarden, which is considered to prove that Mr. Tooth's congregation was not drawn from those who were legally his parishioners. On Sunday Mr. Fry, the new churchwarden, was present at the morning service, but not in an official capacity, and he cannot act until sworn in. Mr. Maclure, the secretary of the Protestant League, and several of the members were present, and took up their positions in front seats near the chancel screen. They endeavoured to prevent the responses during the Communion service being chanted by repeating them in a loud voice; but the chanting of the responses of the choir and several members of the congregation drowned their voices. It is said that the Rev. A. Tooth has finally decided to resign the vicarage, and that his brother, Mr. Robert Tooth, the patron of the living, will nominate the Rev. W. H. Browne, the vicar's curate, as the present vicar's successor. Mr. Browne is at present in residence at the vicarage. Mr. Robert Tooth is at present in China, and it is said that the change will take place on his return to this country.

RITUALISM IN BETHNAL-GREEN.—The vestry meeting held at St. Barnabas Schoolroom, Bethnal-green, on Thursday evening, was of a very noisy character. The Rev. G. Barnes, vicar, presided, and nominated Mr. Horace Graham as his warden. Mr. James Ross and Mr. George Jones were nominated respectively as the representatives of the Protestant and Ritualistic parties, and they explained their respective views at some length, amid mingled cheers and hisses. The *Telegraph* says that the Ritualistic practices of the vicar were not denied, but the candidate of the High-Church party retorted that there were five Low churches in the parish, and those who objected to the mode of worship in St. Barnabas might frequent any of these places. It was stated that in consequence of the unpopularity of the services the offertory was insufficient to meet the ordinary expenses. The show of hands was in favour of the "Protestant" candidate, but a poll was demanded for Mr. Jones. This was accordingly taken, and at the close of the poll, on Friday night, the numbers announced were as follows:—For Mr. Ross (Protestant), 150; for Mr. Jones (High-Church), 90. Majority for the Protestant candidate, 60.

EVANGELICAL SECESSION.—The *Birmingham Post* says:—"Some of the Evangelical clergy, we learn, are looking forward with much anxiety to the decision of the Judicial Committee in the Ridsdale case, and are also alarmed by the obvious tendency towards the growth and influence of Ritualism in the Church as indicated by recent movements, culminating in the demand of the High Anglican party for practical supremacy of the Church over the State. It is not unlikely that secessions on these grounds may take place, on the part of those who feel the responsibility of retaining their connection with a church which is thus to so great an extent divesting itself of its Protestant character. A marked example of this feeling was given on Sunday evening by the Rev. Dr. Gregg, vicar of St. John's, East Harborne, near Birmingham. At the close of the sermon, the rev. gentleman made the following announcement to his congregation:—'Before leaving the pulpit I wish to mention that, anticipating the decision in the Ridsdale case, I consider that it is due to you, my dear friends, as a preliminary announcement, to give to you this early intimation that it is more than probable that I shall be compelled, for conscience' sake, to sever my official connection with the Church of England, and to transfer my ministerial labours to another sphere in God's vineyard.'"

THE ROMANIST UNIVERSITY IN IRELAND.—The Dublin Town Council has decided, on the motion of a Catholic, seconded by a Protestant, to agitate for a Roman Catholic University in Ireland. A petition is to be prepared for presentation at the bar of the Commons, and a deputation will wait on the Premier in support of the scheme. At a largely-attended public meeting of the Roman Catholics of Belfast, held on Thursday in St. Mary's Hall, the Right Rev. Dr. Dorrian, Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese, in the chair, resolutions were passed setting forth that the existing state of university and intermediate education in Ireland is extremely unsatisfactory, that the Catholics, who are the majority of the people of Ireland, have a conscientious objection to any system of education not founded on religion, and while thus demanding for themselves educational freedom, they wish at the same time to extend similar privileges to their countrymen of every denomination; that the system of education at present recognised and fostered by the Government is such as cannot be conscientiously adopted, because in it no facilities are afforded for the combined teaching of science and religion in harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Church; and that the meeting was favourable to the principles of a bill entitled, "A bill to make better provision for University education in Ireland," lately introduced into Parliament by Mr. Butt, and agreed to forward a petition in its favour.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Presbyterian Church in England has now 260 congregations, and a membership of 53,000, and a yearly income of 163,000*l.*

The Rev. Alfred Holborn, M.A., of Huyton, near Liverpool, has accepted an invitation to the pastorate of the church at College Chapel, Bradford.

The Rev. John P. Ritchie, of Bradford, Yorkshire, has accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation the church at Peasley Cross, St. Helens.

The Free Church of Scotland has now more than a thousand ministers. It started with under five hundred, so that in thirty-four years it has just doubled itself.

The new Independent Chapel, New Paignton, Devon, was opened last week. The building is Gothic, will seat 550 persons, and has been erected at a cost of 2,500*l.* The debt will be about 800*l.*

A new Wesleyan church will be opened in Rome, on the 29th instant, in the Via della Scrofa, just opposite the palace of Monsignor La Valetta, the cardinal vicar. The church is under the able ministry of the Rev. Mr. Piggott.

The *Record* says that the annual sermon on behalf of the Church Missionary Society will be preached at St. Bride's Church, on Monday evening, April 30, by the Bishop of Durham. Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy of India, will be one of the speakers at the annual meeting on May 1.

THE REV. DAVID YOUNG, B.A., who has for five years been pastor of the Congregational Church, Morpeth, has accepted a unanimous invitation from the church and congregation at Heywood, Lancashire, and enters upon his work there on the first Sunday in May. Mr. Young's removal will be a great loss to the public life of Morpeth, for he was ever ready to aid all Liberal, Temperance, and other kindred movements with his able advocacy.—*From a Correspondent.*

BAPTIST UNION ANNUITY FUND.—As the result of a visit of the Rev. Dr. Landels to Plymouth, the large sum of 1,775*l.* has been subscribed to this fund. Nearly 800*l.* has also been contributed to the fund by the Baptists of Torquay.

HEREFORD.—In this town a tea-meeting was held on Good Friday after a sermon preached by the Rev. S. H. Booth, of London, to promote the erec-

tion of a new Baptist chapel, the old one being too small. The Rev. J. Williams, B.A., the pastor, presided, and after addresses had been delivered by various ministers, it was announced that 1,100*l.* had been subscribed as the beginning of a building fund. A bazaar in aid of the building fund will be held in October next.

CHEADLE.—The recognition services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. J. W. Paull, M.A., late of Western College, were held at Cheadle, near Manchester, on March 22. At the afternoon service, which was largely attended, the Rev. Professor Anthony, M.A., asked the usual questions, the Rev. W. Major Paull offered the prayer, and the Rev. Charles Wilson, M.A., of Plymouth, gave the charge to the pastor. The service was concluded by the Rev. T. M. Herbert, M.A., the former pastor of the church. The evening service was opened by the Rev. George Colborne, Ph.D., of Hatherlow, when the Rev. Alexander Thomson, D.D., of Manchester, delivered the charge to the people.

YORKSHIRE CONGREGATIONAL UNION CONFERENCE.—On Monday the proceedings of the annual conference of the Yorkshire Congregational Union, appointed to take place this year at Dewsbury, were formally commenced by service at three places of worship in Dewsbury, Earlsheaton, and Batley. Addresses were delivered in Ebenezer Chapel, Dewsbury, by Mr. Wade and the Rev. G. R. Bettis. The first-named gentleman spoke on the great necessity there was for spiritual growth; Mr. Bettis spoke on "public worship." An evangelistic service was held at the Congregational Chapel, Batley, the Rev. J. Rae, B.A., presided. Earnest and stirring addresses were delivered by Mr. G. B. Dobson, Scarborough, the Rev. T. Warren, Sheffield, the Rev. R. Balgarnie, Scarborough, and the Rev. H. Cross, Knaresborough. Yesterday evening there was a public meeting in Trinity Congregational Church, Mr. W. Byles, of Bradford, presiding, and delivering an address.

ONGAR, ESSEX.—The Rev. J. R. Clarkson, B.A., having resigned the pastorate of the Congregational Church, Ongar, a farewell social meeting was held on Tuesday, March 27. Mr. Josiah Gilbert (senior deacon) presided. He spoke in warm and eulogistic terms of Mr. Clarkson as a friend and a preacher, and in the name of the church and congregation he presented him with a cheque for twenty-five guineas as a token of the regard and affection in which he was held. Mr. Hayward, another deacon, said Mr. Clarkson's ministry in Ongar had been characterised by great independence of thought, and faithfulness to conviction. He had not been content to take his beliefs ready-made, but had earnestly thought his way to the truths he held. He had not been satisfied to give them mere sentimental prettiness to produce passing emotion, but had in manly fashion sought to build up a strong and holy character. Other speakers expressed their hearty respect and love for Mr. Clarkson. After Mr. Clarkson's response the meeting closed with prayer.

THE BAPTIST ANNIVERSARIES commence on Wednesday evening next, when meetings will be held in connection with the Young Men's Missionary Association and the Baptist Building Fund. On the following Sunday special missionary services will be held in the various Baptist chapels of the metropolis. The session of the Union will be opened on Monday morning in Bloomsbury Chapel, when the Rev. J. T. Brown, of Northampton, the president for the year, will occupy the chair, and deliver his inaugural address. In the evening there will be a *soirée* in the library of the Baptist Mission House, when addresses will be delivered by several ministers. The members' meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society is to be held at the Mission House on the morning of Tuesday, the 24th, E. S. Robinson, Esq., of Bristol, in the chair; and in the evening the annual public meeting of the British and Irish Home Mission will take place at Bloomsbury Chapel, Thos. Blake, Esq., M.P., presiding. The annual sermon will be preached on Wednesday morning, in Bloomsbury Chapel, by Principal Rainy, of the Free Church College, Edinburgh. Next day the Union meetings will be resumed at Walworth-road Chapel, and in the evening the annual missionary meeting is to be held at Exeter Hall, Mr. Alderman Barran, M.P., presiding. On Friday the usual breakfast in connection with the Zenana Mission in India is to take place in the Freemasons Hall, Sir Wm. Muir in the chair. Other particulars relative to the Baptist anniversaries will be found elsewhere.

TRINITY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, ABERDEEN.—The memorial stone of a new Congregational Church was laid on Wednesday in the city of Aberdeen, by William Leslie, Esq., of Nethermuir, ex-Provost of that city. Being the week of the meetings of the Congregational Union of Scotland, the Rev. Dr. Pulsford, of Glasgow, the Rev. David Russell, Secretary of the Union, Rev. G. S. Barrett, deputy from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and ministers from a distance, were present, and a large concourse of people. The chief interest attaching to this undertaking lay in the fact that it was an outcome of the "Ragged Kirk" founded in a wretched part of the city, and worked up to a self-sustaining point many years ago by the Rev. J. H. Wilson, now Secretary of the Home Missionary Society, London. Mr. Leslie in alluding to this fact said the place selected by Mr. Wilson was the concentration of evil in every form and character, the centre of which was a "penny theatre" and he certified from personal knowledge of the work that by beginning low down with very simple means, and working upwards by small degrees that evil was not only overcome, but the moral and religious character came to be so much improved that the superintendent of police had testified publicly to the great good that had been done. A man with a decent coat on his back, or a woman with a dress in which she could appear at church, was not made welcome there, but as the work prospered habits of sobriety were followed by Christian character, until the first rude chapel had been superseded by a school building, and then in 1853 followed the new chapel in which the church had grown, until that place, although greatly enlarged, had become too strait for the congregation. Mr. Duncan, who had been introduced by, and had succeeded, Mr. Wilson, when he went to occupy a more important post, had carried on the work with true devotion, and they could not but rejoice with him that day in the prospect of occupying a large and commodious church in a locality where it was much needed, and which would cost at the lowest estimate 5,300*l.* The old church, with all its appointments of penny bank, day and Sunday-schools, and week-evening public lectures, would be maintained as it had been heretofore, and in view of the past as compared with the present, he could well afford to say, "wonders will never cease." Mr. Leslie, having placed the stone, concluded by stating that a telegram had just been received from the former pastor, wishing success to the new cause, and which they all received with much pleasure. Mr. David McLaren, treasurer of the Union, congratulated the meeting on the auspicious character of the undertaking, traced its rise and progress, and held it up as a practical example of the best way to improve the neglected population in large towns.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF SCOTLAND held its annual session at Aberdeen last week. The business meeting was held on Tuesday, when reports were presented relative to the Widows' Fund, Ministers' Provident Fund, Chapel Building Fund (which has a capital of 2,600*l.* for loan purposes), the Theological Hall (which has an income of 1,547*l.*), and the Temperance Society. At the social meeting of the last-named institution, the Rev. Mr. Simpson, of Govan, stated that eight and a half millions were spent annually by the Christians of Scotland for their liquor bill, and only 125,000*l.* by all the churches for the saving of sinners; it was agreed to hold special prayer meetings once a month as a means of promoting the temperance cause. The public breakfast was held on Wednesday, Professor Stephenson, of Aberdeen University, presiding. The Rev. D. Russell, of Glasgow, gave in a report on the supplementary stipend fund, which showed that up to the end of March the amount distributed had been 1,217*l.* Twenty-six persons had received sums varying from 30*l.* to 50*l.*, and four had received from 20*l.* to 25*l.* each. The Rev. Ninian Wright presided at the annual meeting of the Union subsequently held, which was well attended, and delivered an address. Mr. Russell, the secretary, submitted a very satisfactory report from the committee, which showed that the churches and stations were in a flourishing condition, and that the pastors and agents were laboriously engaged in disseminating the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Mr. M'Laren, Edinburgh, the treasurer of the Union, submitted the financial report, and the reports were adopted. Subsequently, the Rev. James Ross, of Montrose, was elected secretary of the Union, in place of the Rev. Dr. Russell, who retired, and was appointed delegate to the Evangelical Union. At the public meeting in the evening, which was well attended, Mr. W. Leslie, of Nethermuir, presided, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. J. Tait, A. M. Fairbairn (Principal Elect of Airedale College), the Rev. G. S. Barrett, Norwich (delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales), who gave a brief summary upon the present condition of their Congregational churches in England, and by the Rev. George M'Hardy, Kirkcaldy. On Thursday the session of the Union was continued. It was decided that the next meeting should be held in Edinburgh, and there was a discussion as to the constitution of the Union. Subsequently, the Rev. Mr. Grenville, of Glasgow, moved—

That the Conference expresses its cordial and unchanging adherence to the principles of disestablishment, and its deep gratification at the progress it is making both in Scotland and England; that it regards the wide and almost univeral interest now taken in the question, and the present circumstances of the two Establishments, especially the growth and power of the Sacramentarian party in the English Establishment, as constituting it a duty daily more urgent to make common cause to put as end to these evils; and that instructs the committee to watch events and to use what influence they can in favour of disestablishment and disendowment.

Mr. Livingstone, Glasgow seconded it. The motion was unanimously agreed to. A discussion took place on the ordination of ministers, but the subject was deferred till next year. The Rev. John Douglas, Glasgow, read a vigorously-written and admirable paper on temperance, especially with reference to its claims upon the members and ministers of the Congregational churches, and the Rev. J. Duncan moved a resolution on the subject, which was unanimously passed. A crowded and successful conversazione was held in the Music Hall in the evening. The tea-tables were decorated with flowers, and were presided over by ladies. The company included not only members of the different Congregational churches in the city, but also representatives of other denominations.

BOLTON.—THE REV. R. BEST.—On the evening of Good Friday, a social tea meeting of the members and friends of the congregation connected with Mawdsley-street Church, Bolton, was held in the upper schoolroom, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the pastorate of the Rev. R. Best, and also to celebrate the extinction of the debt upon the chapel and schools, and to take leave of the pastor before proceeding on a visit to the United States. A large meeting was afterwards held, presided over by Mr. A. Barnes, J.P., of Farnworth (in place of Mr. Thomas Barnes, whom illness prevented from being present), and was attended by many neighbouring ministers. The Chairman, after a brief reference to his uncle, whose health was improving, though he might never be able to bear the amount of work and anxiety he had done, congratulated Mr. Best on the attainment of his silver anniversary. They were all happy to see him present—(Hear, hear)—and in good health and strength and in peace, and they wished him many years of happiness and usefulness yet. From a statement made by Mr. E. Woollard, it appeared that the total cost of the new chapel (8,102*l.*) had been entirely met, and that the receipts for the school building were 3,740*l.*, which amount also had been more than met. After the singing of the doxology, the Rev. R. Best gave his account of twenty-five years at Bolton, which abounded in pleasant personal reminiscences, and recorded a story of progress. The speaker referred to the harmonious relations between himself and the Church over which he had so long presided and to his happiness in his work, and he wished to testify to all young men starting life and selecting under God their calling, that there could not be a nobler, happier life than that of a minister of a free and united church.

To preach Christ to human souls; to converse with men who are inquiring what they must do to be saved; to sympathise with those who are in trouble; to bear the balm and consolation of God's truth to broken or bleeding hearts; to mould the desires and aims of young people to a free and a useful self-denying life and intelligent piety; to rescue enthralled minds from every form of priestcraft, lost souls from every form of evil habit; to live for a lifetime in the affections and by the free-will offerings of a people, as the man of their own choice, to be restrained by no bonds save those of love—I say there is no life so glorious as this.

The changes in Bolton during those twenty-five years had been great. An old inhabitant would scarcely identify it, if he had been absent during that period. New markets, new banks, new churches and chapels, new mills, new streets, new parks, new Town Hall, new newspapers, and the new in all these changes, a great improvement upon the old. Of the many hundreds of members who had belonged to the church during his pastorate, many were gone, and had been interred in the cemetery, including his own son. He was now about to cross the Atlantic, and he anticipated as a minister great benefit from the trip, from personal examination of the institutions of America—its free churches, Sunday-schools, temperance movements more especially—and he hoped to do a good work on his return. At the close of Mr. Best's address Mr. J. Haddock presented an illuminated address expressive of the gratitude, the esteem, and the affection of his church and congregation, and a sum of 150*l.*, and Mr. E. Wollard on their behalf asked Mrs. Best to accept a tea service, &c., as a token of love and esteem "and in grateful recognition of her unwearied and self-denying efforts in all causes which have for their object social, moral, and religious improvement." Mr. Best suitably acknowledged these gifts and the Rev. R. M. Davies (Oldham) then addressed the meeting, rejoicing at the happy changes which had occurred since Mr. Best's ministry began. Addresses to a like effect were given by Mr. Thos. Bell, of Liverpool, Revs. W. Hewgill, and S. Prenter (Presbyterian). Various votes of thanks brought the proceedings to a close.

NEW DAY AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS AT BARKING.—In connection with the Congregational Church, Barking (of which the Rev. Joseph Smedmore is the pastor, and which has been to a great extent paid for by his indefatigable exertions in obtaining external help), new day and Sunday schools were opened on March 20. The new erections contain eight class-rooms and a lecture-hall for religious and other meeting in connection with the chapel. The class-rooms can be thrown open by folding doors, so that the scholars can take part in the united services without leaving their places. The building has cost 1,100*l.*, towards which 100*l.* was contributed by the London Congregational Chapel-building Society, 50*l.* from the Fishmongers' Company, 25*l.* from Mr. Edward Edwards, the ex-warden of the Company of Fishmongers, and 25*l.* each from Mr. William Edwards and Mr. Walter Perry. On the opening day there was a well-attended tea-meeting, followed by a service of song and a public meeting in the schoolroom, presided over by J. R. Vaizey, Esq., the high sheriff. The chairman congratulated the pastor of the church and his friends on the occasion of their meeting, and in the course of his remarks mentioned that the schoolroom would accommodate 250 scholars, and that two ragged-schools had also been formed in that town by the exertions of the hard-working superintendent and teachers, and too much credit could not be given to those who devoted themselves so much to the good of the lowest class of the population. The day-school had about eighty boys, who received a superior education. Sir Charles Reed also offered his congratulations. He gave Essex the credit of being the stronghold of Nonconformity in England,

for fine old chapels were scattered over Essex before other counties dared to build them. He referred to the strong interest his late father, Dr. Reed, felt in Barking, having often preached anniversary sermons in the old chapel. Mr. Albert Spicer urged upon the friends generally the importance of supporting the Sunday-school, than which no institution showed so great a result for so small an outlay. It gave him pleasure to announce a contribution of 21*l.* from his father, and 10*l.* 10s. from himself towards the school fund. (Cheers.) The Rev. S. Conway, B.A., and the Rev. T. W. Davids also addressed the meeting, and, with other friends from a distance, congratulated Mr. Smedmore and his flock upon the completion of such a necessary and useful undertaking. In the course of the meeting Mr. Douglas, treasurer, said that the local contributions towards the opening of the schools were 93*l.* 4s. 3d. Mr. Smedmore stated that about 181*l.* had been received or promised towards the schools, and gratefully acknowledged his obligations, not only to the London Congregational Chapel-building Society, but also for the generosity shown him by several members of the Church of England, and especially by his friends, who, having helped him in building the chapel, had now assisted him again in the erection of the schools; and lastly, he begged to thank most heartily the old Mill-hill boys who had so kindly helped him in his work. In proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, he referred to Mr. Vaizey's honoured grandfather, the late Robert Bousfield, Esq., from whom he had received great kindness in former times, who deeply interested himself in the educational movements of his day, and who liberally founded the largest scholarship at Mill-hill. The motion was seconded by Mr. F. A. Wells, of Chelmsford, and supported by Mr. Bewers, who said he felt that they owed the building in which they were assembled chiefly to the labours of their pastor. The vote having been carried by acclamation, the chairman responded in kind words to his "old friend" Mr. Smedmore. He thought they had every reason to be thankful for the handsome sum of upwards of 300*l.*, which had been realised at the opening meeting. The doxology having been sung, the friends separated, delighted with the speeches they had heard, and with the prospect of the speedy extinction of the debt on their new schools.

SKETCHES FROM THE GALLERY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Monday Night.

The House of Commons assembled to-night in anticipation of some decisive action on the part of the Opposition with respect to the crisis in the East. It had been stated avowedly on good authority, that the Marquis of Hartington was at last prepared to bring forward a definite vote of censure on the Government. From independent authority, I am able to state that such intention was arrived at by the leaders of the Opposition on Saturday. The peculiarly elaborate character of the last arrangement come to between the Powers, the chief object of which on the part of Lord Derby has been to minimise anything in the shape of action, and to leave matters as much as possible as they were, gives an opening to the Opposition which, if they were only united, might easily be seized. The Protocol itself, read by the light of the ordinary meaning of words, is not much; but there is a good deal in the Declaration on the part of Russia with which it is accompanied, and not a little in the Declaration which Lord Derby signed on the part of Great Britain.

It is this last with which the House has to deal, and the intention of the leaders of the Opposition was, I believe, to seize upon the word "solely" which appears in it, and to insist that Lord Derby did not express the opinion of the people of England when he asserted that the object and the duty of England in interfering was *solely* to insure peace. This declaration on the part of a Conservative Minister is, when it comes to be examined, nothing less than an affirmation of that peace-at-any-price policy which in former times Conservatives were wont to deride in some members of the party sitting opposite. The view which right hon. gentlemen on the front Opposition bench, notably Mr. Gladstone, take of the position is that the duty of England at the present crisis is not bounded by the necessity of preserving peace. Mr. Gladstone holds that we have a certain duty to perform towards the persecuted Christians in the Turkish provinces, and on Saturday his view, warmly expressed, had overridden objections coming from other quarters. The most influential opposition came, I believe, from Mr. Bright, who agrees with Lord Derby that the principal object of diplomacy ought to be to maintain peace. Other members of the late Cabinet hold the view that if there is to be war it should be confined to the operations of Russia and Turkey—that, in short, they should be left to fight it out, though I presume there are limits even to this comfortable theory, and that, at a certain crisis not very remote after the Russians crossed the Pruth, England would be called on to interfere. The net result of the interchange of communications was that the Marquis of Hartington undertook to give notice this evening to move a resolution censuring the policy of Lord Derby, as set forth in his declaration. But events move rapidly now, and, between Saturday and Monday, a good deal happened. It became clear this morning, or seemed to do so, that Turkey had made up her mind to be obstinate, and that Russia, prepared for that contingency, was ready without delay to swoop down on her ancient enemy. It might appear to some theorists that this is not a fact that should alter the politics of a party. Right is right under any circumstances, and, if Lord Derby's Declaration was censurable on Friday, when there yet seemed to be hesitancy on the part of the combatants, it could not be less objectionable on Monday, when war seemed imminent. In practice, however, such rules will not apply. The leaders of the Opposition found themselves in a delicate and dangerous position. To move a vote of censure on Lord Derby because he had modified a Protocol which was the workmanship of Russia, would be to throw the Opposition into the arms of the Muscovite, and that is a step for which neither the party nor the country is ripe.

All these things were generally known to hon. members, and, when the other questions and notices of motion on the paper had been disposed of, and the Marquis of Hartington appeared at the table, there was a general hush of expectancy. As the noble lord proceeded, however, and it became clear that he was not going to do more than to move for papers, even though there was a significance in the papers named, something like a sneer manifested itself among hon. members on the Ministerial benches below the gangway. Once more, as it appeared to them, the Opposition had been leading up to the very verge of definitive action, and again they had trembled on the brink. Had the incident referred to any other subject than that of the crisis in Continental policy, there would doubtless have been a ringing cheer of irony and defiance from the Ministerialists. As it was, the demonstration was confined to such distinguished and responsible members as Sir William Fraser. In the House of Commons more than anywhere else the gravity of the crisis is fully recognised, and Lord Hartington's sudden change of front is one of many evidences that in all questions which involve peace and war, party tactics and party desires are happily subordinated to more patriotic sentiments.

Since the House met on Thursday after the Easter recess, business has jogged along in a dull manner, occasionally varied by manifestations of the irrepressible Mr. Parnell and the barbaric Mr. Biggar. But even with this interesting party in the House of Commons a crisis has arrived. Mr. Butt, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Mitchell Henry, and others of the respectable Home-Rulers, have set their face against the vagaries of this redoubtable pair; and Mr. Butt, both in private and in public, has protested against the line of conduct they pursue with, many Englishmen will be surprised to hear, the approval of a portion of the Irish press. Affairs have been further complicated by something that has verged on a personal encounter between Mr. Mitchell Henry and Mr. Callan. When, under the circumstances described at the time, Mr. Callan "repudiated" Mr. Mitchell Henry and Mr. Sullivan, the former gentleman turned round to the member for Dundalk and said, in a sufficiently distinct manner, "Callan, you are a disgrace to the party." As to how far this is true, we may each have our opinion. Mr. Callan, however, naturally resented the open statement, and, following Mr. Mitchell Henry out of the House, asked him, something after the manner of schoolboys who do not want to fight, "to say it again." Mr. Henry declined to hold any communication with Mr. Callan, whereupon Mr. Callan informed Mr. Henry that he was a "political shopwalker," whatever that may be. Thus torn by internecine strife, and confronted by the *non possumus* of the British Parliament, the Home-Rule party appears to be on the point of going to pieces. In the meantime, Mr. Biggar and Mr. Parnell keep up their spirits, and as I write, just after midnight, are insisting that the committee shall report progress, and the heart-broken and despairing Secretary for War shall get his money another day.

A "Halfpenny Shakespeare" is one of the latest of the many remarkable developments of the cheap press of the present day. Each of the plays is printed in small but clear type, and issued in a wrapper for a halfpenny.

POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL NEWS.

The Liberal party in Birkenhead have determined to put into practice the Birmingham scheme of electoral organisation. The initial step—the appointment of a committee of sixty—was agreed to, and sanguine hopes were entertained that at the next election the representation of the borough would be wrested from the Conservative party.

Speaking at the banquet given in his honour on Thursday at Gloucester, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach acknowledged the statesman-like reticence of the recognised Liberal leaders, but condemned the action of others who apparently did not give the Government credit for the same humanity as themselves. The Opposition, he complained, though bringing forward hostile resolutions, were afraid to push them to a division, because the nation had found out that their policy was one of coercion and war, and preferred the Ministerial policy of peace.

There was a Conservative demonstration at Peterborough on Thursday, at which Mr. Ward Hunt presided, and made a short speech in regard to the navy. Mr. Sackville, M.P., and Mr. Rodwell, M.P., who were among the other speakers, condemned the conduct of the Opposition in reference to the Eastern Question, and complained of the obstructive policy pursued in the House of Commons by certain of the Home Rule members.

Sir William Harcourt, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Mr. Charles Howard, M.P., Mr. Stafford Howard, M.P., Mr. Fergusson, M.P., and Mr. Isaac Fletcher, M.P., were on Thursday present at a dinner given at Carlisle by the East Cumberland Liberal Association. Sir Wilfrid Lawson said the inhabitants of this country were now the kings and princes who elected the Parliament, and it would not now do to quote the old saying of Sir Robert Peel, who, when in Opposition and invited to state his policy, said the physician would not prescribe until he was called in. As a party the Liberals must make it quite clear that they were unflinching friends of civil and religious freedom, and he invited Sir William Harcourt to tell them what was the duty of the Liberal party. Sir W. Harcourt replied that he never had authority to lay down a programme for the Liberty party, and the time when he was having an outing, just before the meeting of Parliament, was the very last he should select for such a purpose. Mr. Mundella made a speech, in the course of which he criticised the domestic, foreign, and financial policy of the Government.

Mr. Joseph Arch, President of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, delivered an interesting address at Market Harborough, on Easter Tuesday. He strongly condemned the game laws, and vindicated the right of the inhabitants in the rural districts to the same voice in the election of representatives in the House of Commons as their neighbours in the towns. The testimony of Mr. Arch to the necessity for disestablishment is also not a little striking. He said—

> He was not very much surprised at the young gentlemen who were born with a silver spoon in their mouths, it was only natural, and they knew no better—but he had to state from that platform, and he did so with painful feelings—that there were those who occupied positions as teachers of the people—those very gentlemen who Sabbath after Sabbath enter the churches, and in some instances the chapels, in the country, and pray God to deliver the poor and the needy, and yet see him crushed again and again, and never step into the arena and assist in the work which all their preaching and praying failed to accomplish, but turn and with holy horror pray God to save the villages from the union agitators. He did not wish to hurt the feelings of rev. gentlemen; he had high respect for the clergy. But he did say this—that the Established Church of England was a great institution of political injustice and darkness; and if ever that Establishment has proven itself diametrically opposed to the social and political advancement of the working-classes, and if that Establishment has shown that it is not with the people, or for the people, it has been during the last five years. The agricultural labourers had nothing to thank her for. They were told they ought to bow with holy submission to her, but let us first be convinced that she had bowed with holy submission to them. And labourers demanded their vote in order to have a voice in saying what is to be done with the old lady. (Cheers.)

A vacancy has been caused in the House of Commons by the death of Mr. Cawley, the senior Conservative member for Salford. A sharp contest is anticipated for the seat. There was a meeting of representative Liberals in the Town Hall on Monday night. Mr. Thomas Briggs occupied the chair, and the meeting was a most enthusiastic one. Several names were submitted, but there was a strong feeling manifested that all personal prejudices should be sunk in favour of the man whom the majority of the meeting thought likely to poll the most votes. Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C., who contested the seat in conjunction with Mr. Henry Lee in 1874, was the first gentleman proposed. It was stated that he was at present confined to a sick room, and would not be able to take part personally in the contest. A letter was read from Sir W. Jenner, stating that there would be no risk in Mr. Kay's entering upon the contest, provided his personal appearance was not required, and Sir William also sent a certificate expressing his belief that Mr. Kay, if elected, would be able to take his seat in a few days. Mr. William Agnew was also proposed, but declined to stand, on the ground that Mr. Kay would poll more votes than he would. A third gentleman proposed was Mr. Richard Harwood, ex-Mayor of Salford, but the meeting decided in

favour of Mr. Kay by an overwhelming majority. A Conservative meeting was also held at the Pendleton Town Hall, Mr. E. Hardcastle, M.P., presiding. The only candidate proposed was Colonel Walker, of Bury, who was unanimously selected.

THE PROTOCOL.

The following is the English text of the Protocol, with certain Minutes and Declarations by the Ministers signing it. These papers, in French and English, together with Correspondence on the subject, were laid on the table of the House of Commons on Thursday night.

PROTOCOL RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF TURKEY, SIGNED AT LONDON, MARCH 31, 1877.

The Powers who have undertaken in common the pacification of the East, and have with that view taken part in the Conference of Constantinople, recognise that the surest means of attaining the object which they have proposed to themselves is before all to maintain the agreement so happily established between them, and jointly to affirm afresh the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey, and in the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, which the Porte has accepted on condition of itself carrying them into execution.

They take cognisance of the conclusion of peace with Servia.

As regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Bojana to be desirable in the interest of a solid and durable arrangement.

The Powers consider the arrangements concluded, or to be concluded, between the Porte and the two Principalities as a step accomplished towards the pacification which is the object of their common wishes.

They invite the Porte to consolidate it, by replacing its armies on a peace footing, excepting the number of troops indispensable for the maintenance of order, and by putting in hand with the least possible delay the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces, the condition of which was discussed at the Conference. They recognise that the Porte has declared itself ready to realise an important portion of them.

They take cognisance specially of the Circular of the Porte of the 13th of February, 1876, and of the declarations made by the Ottoman Government during the Conference and since through its representatives.

In view of these good intentions on the part of the Porte, and of its evident interest to carry them immediately into effect, the Powers believe that they have grounds for hoping that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian populations which is unanimously called for as indispensible to the tranquillity of Europe, and that having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honour as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously.

The Powers propose to watch carefully, by means of their representatives at Constantinople and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government are carried into effect.

If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian populations and the interests of the general peace.

Done at London, March 31, 1877.

Munster.	Derby.
Beust.	L. F. Menabrea.
L. d'Harcourt.	Schouvaloff.

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE, MARCH 31, 1877.

Count Munster (Ambassador of Germany), Count Beust (Ambassador of Austria-Hungary), the Marquis d'Harcourt (Ambassador of France), the Earl of Derby (Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), General Count de Menabrea (Ambassador of Italy), and Count Schouvaloff (Ambassador of Russia), met together this day at the Foreign Office for the purpose of signing the Protocol proposed by Russia relative to the affairs of the East.

Count Schouvaloff made the following declaration, placing, at the same time, a *pro memoria* of it in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State:—

"If peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty the Emperor would also on his part consent.

"If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilisation."

The Earl of Derby read and delivered to each of the other Plenipotentiaries a declaration, copy of which is annexed to the present *procès-verbal*:—

"Inasmuch as it is solely in the interests of European peace that Her Britannic Majesty's Government have consented to sign the Protocol proposed by that of Russia, it is understood beforehand that, in the event of the object proposed not being attained—namely, reciprocal disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them—the Protocol in question shall be regarded as null and void."

General Count de Menabrea declared that Italy is only bound by the signature of the Protocol of this day's date so long as the agreement happily established between all the Powers by the Protocol itself is maintained.

The signature of the Protocol was then proceeded with.

Munster.	Derby.
Beust.	L. F. Menabrea.
L. d'Harcourt.	Schouvaloff.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The value of the wool clipped in Australia this year is stated to be 6,250,000*l.*

A telegraph line is about to be erected in Tien Tsin.

The drought that has for some time been seriously affecting the interests of farmers in South Australia has now given way to an abundant rain.

The approval of the Chinese Government has been given to the immediate opening of two additional ports—namely, Wen-chow and Wuha.

Pope Pius has 6,400,000*l.* deposited in the Bank of Italy. So much for the "poor prisoner of the Vatican."

The eldest daughter of the late M. Prevost-Paradol has taken the veil in the Convent of the Dames de la Retraite, Paris.

With a view to prevent the Italian Government from complying with any possible demand for his extradition, the Pope has called Cardinal Ledochowski into the Vatican to live.

Peace has not yet been concluded with Abyssinia by Colonel Gordon. King John has declined to see Colonel Gordon or any one from the Khedive, or to have any dealings with the Egyptian Government.

Signor Mancini, Italian Minister of Justice and Public Worship, in view of the agitation maintained by the clerical party at home and abroad against the Clerical Abuses Bill, has determined to defend the measure vigorously in the Senate, as an essential part of the Ministerial programme.

The rumour of a reconciliation between Prince Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie and her son having been repeated by the *Union*, M. Paul de Cassagnac, the accredited representative of "Napoleon IV.," has contradicted the rumour, and attacked the Prince in very violent terms.

M. Paul de Cassagnac has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment and 3,000f. fine for publishing in his journal, the *Pays*, articles insulting the Chamber of Deputies. The publisher of the paper, M. Piel, was fined 1,000f. and costs. An appeal is expected to be lodged, and the execution of the judgment will be suspended.

Active preparations are going on for the immediate commencement of the long-projected work of draining the Zuyder Zee. A dam, forty kilometres (twenty-four miles 1,504 yards) long and fifty metres broad at its base, is to be carried across the gulf, built up to a height of half-a-metre above the ordinary level of high tide.

The Governor of Tasmania has, says the Hobart Town *Mercury*, demonstrated the successful acclimatisation of salmon in the rivers of that colony. His excellency caught on the Derwent and Plenty a salmon—the largest yet caught in Tasmania—weighing 8½lb., and a grilse of 4lb., together with half-a-dozen trout weighing from 3lb. downward.

Distress in the United States.—Estimates made by persons connected with the American Trades Unions fix the number of unemployed workmen in the United States at two millions, of whom 50,000 are in New York. Wages tend downwards, and no general revival of trade is expected for the next six months. In the mining and manufacturing districts (which enjoy Protection) there is great distress, but free trade farming is fairly prosperous. Many Englishmen are desirous of returning home.

Suttee in India.—A Hindoo paper gives the following account of Sir Jung Bahadoor's death, and of the ceremony at his funeral:—"The 25th of February being Holee day (Govind Dwadasee) he went to bathe at Bagonuttee; he entered the river before sunrise for that purpose in the highest spirits, and after performing his ablutions he sat on the bank to perform poojah. Soon after he was noticed to be motionless. On his followers approaching him they found that life was extinct. An express was sent to the capital, and orders arrived to postpone the funeral rites to March 1. The three principal Ranees, his brother, and son arrived, and the Ranees expressed their desire to sacrifice themselves. The brother tried to dissuade them, but he failed, and the funeral pyre was prepared with sandal-wood, resin, and a large quantity of ghee. When the arrangements had been made the ladies bathed, performed poojah, and made presents to the Brahmins. The next step was they took measures for the government of the country and to maintain peace; then general directions were given to the brother-in-law. The last act was to release some prisoners. The widows then entered the funeral prye quite unconcernedly, muttering prayers. The corpse was then laid on its back, and the eldest Ranee took its head in her lap, and the two others took its feet. They were then surrounded by odorous combustibles, and the Ranees gazed upon the features of their husband as if forgetful of every other consideration. The fire was then applied by his son, and all was over in a few minutes." The *Pall Mall Gazette* says:—"A far grander case of suttee than even that of Nepaul very nearly succeeded recently in Marwar, Rajpootana, on the Maharajah's death. The widows determined to emulate the example of the sixty-six wives who burned themselves with the body of the dead ruler's next ancestor but one. They might perhaps have carried their point if the political agent, Major Walter—as he tells us in his report for 1874—had not proceeded to the desperate extremity of putting them under lock and key. Sir Jung Bahadoor's own cremation is an instance of the irony of fate; for the anti-suttee regulations which he made after his visit to England rendered him extremely unpopular with the priests. He absolutely prohibited suttee in the case of widows with young children; and permitted any widow whose resolution might fail her at the last moment to descend from her faggots without let or hindrance."

Epitome of News.

Her Majesty, with Princess Beatrice and Prince Leopold, attended Divine service at Osborne on Sunday. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple, preached.

Her Majesty's birthday will be kept on Saturday, June 2, instead of May 26.

The Queen is expected to visit Balmoral about the middle of May.

The Queen will not be able to open the Manchester Town Hall as requested.

The twenty-fourth birthday of Prince Leopold was celebrated on Saturday.

The Princess of Wales has embarked at Brindisi for Athens on a visit to the King and Queen of the Greeks, and arrived there yesterday.

It is expected that the Prince of Wales will be able to leave London to-day to join the Princess, returning in about a month.

There is a serious division, it is announced from Dublin, among the rank-and-file of the Irish Home Rule party on what is known as the "policy of obstruction." Mr. Butt is said to be entirely opposed to the continuance of such a course of proceeding in the House of Commons, but some of the more fiery spirits have secured a sort of approval for it from a section of the Home Rulers of Dublin.

Mr. Biggar, M.P., has, notwithstanding, placed upon the "Order Book" of the House of Commons notices of his intention to move the rejection of the following bills:—1. The Prisons (Scotland) Bill; 2, Public Health (Ireland) Bill; 3, the Valuation of Property (Ireland) Bill; 4, the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Bill; 5, the Marine Mutiny Bill; 6, the Mutiny Bill; 7, the House Occupiers' Disqualification Removal Bill; 8, the Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill; 9, the Patents for Inventions Bill; 10, the Thrashing Machines Bill; 11, the Peerage of Ireland Bill; 12, the Legal Practitioners Bill; 13, the Divine Worship Facilities Bill. All these bills the hon. member proposes to proceed with "this day six months."

Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P., replying to a letter published by Mr. Callan, M.P., with reference to recent proceedings in the House of Commons, "publicly tells" that gentleman "that if he again follows him out of the House and hisses into his ear the approbrious epithets which he was pleased to address to him, he will not cause him (Mr. Henry) to lose his temper, but he will cause him to appeal to the nearest policeman."

At the request of the Australian Colonies, Her Majesty's Government have selected Sir W. Jervois, K.C.M.G., R.E., Governor of the Straits Settlements, and Lieutenant-Colonel Scratchley, R.E., to advise the respective Colonial Governments on a scheme of defence for the chief Australian ports. Colonel Scratchley has already left England, and will join Sir W. Jervois at Sydney.

The discreditable slanders which have long been circulating against Mr. Gladstone have just met with a check. In a recent speech at Brighton, the Tory member for that borough, Mr. Ashbury, condescended to re-echo the childish statements of certain Conservative prints, to the effect that Mr. Gladstone had taken up the Bulgarian question merely to make money out of it, and that he had netted over 10,000*l.* by his pamphlet on the atrocities. Brought to book by the ex-Premier, Mr. Ashbury has been forced to make a humble apology, and to withdraw the statements complained of. Mr. Gladstone, in accepting the palinode, states that so far from having made 10,000*l.* by way of his pamphlets, his gains, during forty years of authorship, have not come near that sum.

An influential meeting was held in Glasgow on Tuesday, Principal Caird presiding, at which it was resolved to form an association for promoting the higher education of women and procuring the co-operation of the University. The objects of the association are to establish a scheme of examination for women similar to those existing elsewhere, to make arrangements for carrying on classes, and to provide funds. A committee was appointed to take the necessary steps.

An influential meeting of the medical profession

of Glasgow in connection with the local branch of the British Medical Association was held yesterday for the purpose of advancing the movement for the treatment of habitual drunkards. All the speakers testified to the difficulty at present experienced in dealing with such cases and to the absolute necessity which existed for legislation on the subject. A resolution was agreed to unanimously declaring that the meeting approved of the general principles of Dr. Cameron's Habitual Drunkards Bill.

At the "Spring Sacramental Fast" at Glasgow last week about 90,000 people, tempted by the sunshine in the early part of the day, left the city by train and steamer. Service was held in the Presbyterian churches in town, but in most cases the congregations were small.

The Bishop of Ripon left Southampton on Monday for Lisbon.

The Great Northern express from London to Sheffield on Saturday afternoon, in which Mr. Roebuck, M.P., was a passenger, was delayed for some time a few miles from Sheffield, by the breaking down of a train composed of coal trucks and salt wagons. Considerable damage was done to the rolling stock, but no one was hurt.

An enormous quantity of fresh meat reached the Mersey during the past week, and is considered to be about the largest that has yet come to hand in a single week previously. Five steamers arrived at Liverpool, having on board 7131 quarters of beef and 1573 whole sheep.

The Liberal Association of Liverpool have issued a scheme of municipal reform, which embraces the abolition of aldermen, the extension of municipal boundaries and creation of new wards, the rating of vacant land, the amalgamation of the Parliamentary and municipal registers, the unconditional sale of the nine Corporation churches, the reduction of expenditure on municipal festivities, and the supply of cheap gas from some other source than the present Gas Company.

On Thursday, at the meeting of the Midland Farmers' Club, Mr. J. J. Mechi read a paper on "British Agriculture in 1877." He showed that during the past few years farmers throughout the country had sustained very great losses, one of the causes of the non-success of agriculture being the want of capital invested in the soil.

Messrs. Thorneycroft and Co., the great Midland iron firm, have announced their intention of closing their extensive works and collieries. They state that the eight hours per day system enforced by the miners is so utterly ruinous that they will spend no more capital in attempting to uphold it. About 1,200 people, computed to be the support of 5,000 persons, will be thrown out of employment by this step.

A reduction in miners' wages is being made all over the country. In some cases the reduction is accepted, but in others the miners are resisting and leaving their work. Notwithstanding the reduction, the price of household coal has advanced.

Messrs. Finzel and Sons, of Bristol, who own the largest sugar refinery in the world, have failed, with liabilities estimated at 500,000*l.*, of which 200,000*l.* is owing to a Bristol bank. It seems that the bankrupts' business has been ruined by the French bounty system. An arrangement is considered probable.

An extraordinary whirlwind occurred in South Warwickshire on Wednesday. A number of large trees were uprooted, some haystacks were overturned and carried a great distance, many houses were unroofed, and one or two dwellings were blown down.

The London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company have increased the fares of all passengers from Chatham to London, on account of the company having been compelled by the Railway Commissioners to run through trains over their junction at Strood on to the South Eastern Railway.

On Friday an inquest was held on the body of Mary Ann Nash, seventy-one years of age, who was found to have died of starvation. Her husband, a tailor, sixty-five years old, had latterly been too ill to work. Each received from the Cordwainers' Company a pension of 5*l.*, which would have been forfeited had they accepted assistance from the parish. The surgeon who made a *post-mortem* examination stated that he had never seen a worse case in his life, the deceased having been completely starved to death. A request was made by the jury to the coroner to write to the Cordwainers' Company urging them to alter their regulations, under which, in the present case, a family had been condemned to starve.

The shareholders of the Direct United States Cable Company have voted the old directors out of office, and appointed new ones, who will at once make a return to the old tariff of 3s. a word, and enter into a friendly alliance with the Anglo-American Company.

A conference of the National Union of Elementary Teachers was held last week in London. The opinion was expressed that there should be a British code working throughout the United Kingdom, in place of separate codes for separate countries. Resolutions were adopted in favour of vesting the granting of teachers' certificates in the Universities. It was also declared that many of the questions addressed to pupil-teachers in examination were unsatisfactory in working and scope.

A fresh outbreak of cattle plague, which is said to be the most serious that has occurred in Middlesex for some time, was discovered at a dairy farm at Willesden on Saturday, when twelve cows were found to be affected. The diseased cattle were at once slaughtered, several others were condemned on Sunday, and it is feared that the whole herd will have to be destroyed. It is estimated that within a radius of three miles of the farm there are between 2,000 and 3,000 cows.

An English firm has secured the contract for 24,000 tons of railway iron in America, which the trade organ at New York regards as proving that English iron has not yet been driven out of the American market, although the tariff nullifies profit.

The walking match between Daniel O'Leary and Edward Payson Weston, which was in progress at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, throughout the whole of last week, was brought to a close on Saturday night, O'Leary having accomplished 520 miles, and Weston 510.

Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, the editor, and Mrs. Annie Besant, sub-editor, of the *National Reformer*, were on Thursday arrested and taken before Mr. Alderman Figgins at the Guildhall Justice-room, charged with the publication of a book, "The Fruits of Philosophy," alleged to be of an immoral nature. The work is one upon which a prosecution has already been founded, and as a result it was withdrawn from circulation; but it has now been reissued, with the avowed object of testing whether it is, as alleged, an immoral one. The proceedings were merely formal, the hearing of the case being adjourned until Tuesday, the 17th inst. The defendants meanwhile were admitted to bail in two sureties of 100*l.* each, and themselves in 200*l.* each. Mr. Bradlaugh said he had about forty witnesses to call for his defence, many of whom were medical men.

A cocoa and coffee house, the object of which is to afford working men refreshment unmixed with intoxicating liquor, was opened at Sheffield on Monday evening, when addresses were delivered by Mr. Roebuck, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., and Sir Harcourt Johnstone, M.P. The place is the gift of Mr. J. J. Mappin, a local manufacturer, and the first of its kind in the town.

Gleanings.

There are now between fifty and sixty skating rinks in London.

"For the present," says the *Rochester Democrat*, "will correspondents please write on neither side of the sheet?"

A line in one of Moore's songs runs thus: "Our couch shall be roses, bespangled with dew." To which a sensible person replied: "'Twould give me the rheumatiz, and so it would you."

Cremation is done for. A chemist has discovered a process by which the human body may be reduced to a delightful perfume at a ridiculously small cost, and in an inconceivably short space of time.

"Lunatick fringe" is the name given in New York to the fashion of cropping the hair and letting the ends hang down over the forehead.

There is positive danger, it seems, in giving way to the tendency of yawning. Last week a gentleman at Alyth dislocated one of his jaws, and remained with his face out of joint for an hour, until a surgeon arrived to restore it to its normal state.

A wag the other day, speaking of a man whose important air attracted a good deal of notice, remarked that his "bump of self-esteem was so prominent that he could not keep his hat on on a windy day."

An Englishman boasting to a Yankee that they had a book in the British Museum which was once owned by Cicero, "Oh, that ain't nothin'," retorted the Yankee; "in the museum in Bosting they've got the lead-pencil that Noah used to check off the animals that went into the ark."

REMEDY FOR SEA-SICKNESS.—The homœopathists say that they have discovered a certain remedy for sea-sickness. It is apomorphia, and a very small dose of it taken once an hour in water will remove the qualms. They are so certain of its success that they are going to procure a gratuitous circulation of it amongst vessels that carry passengers. It is also useful for beasts, whose sufferings are often extreme.

SHAKESPEARIAN GLOSS.—A good story is told *apropos* of a recent Hamlet, who proposed to play the part of the Dane in a red cloak, which intention was reported to a Shakespearian actor of the old school, who said, "Very well; I do not see anything shocking in that." "But is it right?" asked the interlocutor. "I dare say it is," said the actor; "red was the colour of mourning in the Royal House of Denmark." "But how do you get over this," persisted the other, quoting, "'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother?" "Well," said the old Shakespearian, calmly, "I suppose that there is such a thing as red ink?"

IRISH STORIES.—Two sons of Erin, shovelling sand on a hot day, stopped to rest, and exchanged views on the labour question. "Pat, this is mighty hard work we're at." "It is indade, Jimmy. But what kind of work is it you'd like if ye could get it?" "Well," said the other, leaning reflectively on his shovel, and wiping the perspiration with the back of his hand, "for a nice, aisy, clain business, I think I should like to be a bishop."—A poor Irishman applied to one of the overseers of the poor for relief, and, upon some doubt being expressed as to whether he was a proper object, he enforced his suit with much earnestness. "Och, yer honour," said he, "shure I'd be starved long since but for me cat." "But for what?" asked the astonished interrogator. "Me cat," rejoined the Irishman. "Your cat! How so?" "Shure, yer honour, I sould her eleven times for sixpence a time, and she was always home before I could get there meself."

TULIPS.—The King of Holland does France the honour of sending to the Exhibition of 1878 40,000 tulips. What a treat for the tulipomaniacs! Then, roots of Holland have a merited renown, and at one time the bulbs were regularly quoted on the Exchange at Harlem. The "Semper Augustus" brought more than 2,000fl. (2f. 15c. each), and the "Admiral Lieskens" over 4,000f. A tale is related that one day no more than two roots of the "Semper Augustus" were to be found in the country—one at Amsterdam and the other at Harlem. For the first was offered 4,600fl., and a carriage and pair of Flanders horses, harnessed; while, for the other, twelve acres of land were proposed, but those offers were refused. France has had her tulipomaniacs, who pushed matters far enough to render their Dutch colleagues jealous. A mill was given in exchange for a bulb of the "Mere brune," and a story is told of an amateur who dowered his daughter with a root "Mariage de ma fille," the son-in-law being enchanted.—*Globe.*

COCKNEY LEARNING. — Some amusing facts, writes a City authority, were brought out in the report of the London School Board on examination of candidates for the Clothworkers' Scholarships. With respect to history, the examiner says the proportion of those who failed to obtain a single mark was very large. It is difficult to give the reasons which prompted some of the following answers:—(*a*) "Sir Christopher Wren sailed round the world, and was a great animal painter." (*b*) "The battle of Cressy was fought in the reign of George III. where the English won a great victory over the Indians." (*c*) "John Cade was the man that got the great country India for us; he was a very bad scholar; his master could not make him learn." (*d*) "Judge Jeffreys was the judge whom all the people liked; he never punished without a cause." (*e*) The battle of Cressy was fought in the year 1314, by the Black Prince Nero; it was fought between the Romans and Britains [*sic.*]; the Black Prince, who belonged to the Britains [*sic.*] defeated the Romans; thus ended the battle of Cressy." Again, the great authors of Elizabeth's reign are described in several instances as including Chaucer, Wren, Walter Scott, Milton, Dickens, Lord Byron, and Professor J. B. Forbes; while Shakespeare's greatest work is said to be "The Wide, Wide World." Some remarkable mistakes disfigure several of the answers in geography:—(*a*) Sheffield is described as situated "near the West Midland coast of England." (*b*) The Thames is said to flow through Essex, to rise in the Cotswold Hills, and then fall into the Humber; while another boy describes it as "a very ragged river, with a very rapid course from its source, even to its mouth, running through Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Cambridgeshire, Staffordshire, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire." (*c*) A "constitutional monarch" is defined by one boy as "a monarch who had a good constitution." (*d*) Mr. Gladstone is described by another boy as having "gone into Central Africa after Livingstone's death, where he is exploring the country, and teaching the heathen to pray."

The author of "Ecce Homo" is reported to be the writer of the series of articles on "Natural Religion," of which the twelfth holds the first place in the April number of *Macmillan's Magazine.* These articles are understood to contain the development of the doctrines laid down in "Ecce Homo."

Mr. Rassam, who went out to succeed Mr. George Smith in the East, under the auspices of the British Museum, has, the *Homeward Mail* regrets to say, returned, after fruitlessly waiting four months at Constantinople for a firman from the Turkish Government to continue the search and excavations already commenced.

It is stated that Mr. Albert Grant's pictures, which are to be sold by Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods next month, have been valued by a competent authority at 500,000*l.* sterling. The interest on that amount alone would give Mr. Grant a princely income.

SCHOOL BOARD NEWS.—A school board election which took place at Norwich on Thursday has resulted in the return of all the seven unsectarian candidates and six denominationalists, including one Roman Catholic. The Liberals have therefore again been placed in a majority, and the policy of the late Board will be continued.—At the first meeting of the third school board for Berkhamstead the Rev. James Harcourt was elected chairman, and Mr. Nash, also a Nonconformist, was re-elected vice-chairman.

CONGREGATIONAL BOARD OF LONDON MINISTERS.—The one hundred and fiftieth annual meeting of this board was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, on Tuesday, April 10, the Rev. Josiah Viney in the chair. The report of the proceedings of the past year was read, and the committee chosen for the ensuing year. The following officers were elected:—The Rev. Dr. Allon, chairman; the Rev. F. Soden, deputy chairman; the Rev. I. Vale Mummery, for the twenty-first time, as finance secretary; and the Rev. John Nunn, for the second time, as general secretary. Cordial thanks were voted to the retiring chairman, the Rev. Josiah Viney; and the deputy chairman, the Rev. W. Roberts, B.A.

The presentation of the honorary diploma to Dr. Schliemann by the British Archæological Association will take place on April 11, in the hall of the Institute of British Architects, 19, Conduit-street.

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THE TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE of the LIBERATION SOCIETY will be held in London on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, the 1st and 2nd of MAY.

In addition to other appointments, DELEGATES may be appointed by denominational Unions or Associations, by political or ecclesiastical societies which embrace objects cognate to those of the Society, and by meetings of congregations.

Nominations should be sent in by Saturday, the 21st of April.

The regulations for the appointment of delegates may be had on application.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.

2, Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street, E.C.

GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the CONGREGATIONAL UNION of ENGLAND and WALES, held on Tuesday, April 3rd, it was unanimously RESOLVED:—

"That this Committee, having carefully considered the Government Burials Bill, regret to find that, while it provides for amending and consolidating existing laws, especially with a view to the protection of the public health, it not only fails to meet the just demand of Nonconformists for equal rights with others in the public churchyards of the country, but adds new sanctions to those by which the clerical monopoly in churchyards was already established, and confirms the distinctions in favour of the adherents of the Established Church, against which Nonconformists have long protested.

"The Committee specially object to the Bill on the following grounds:—1. That if passed into law it will give facilities for providing new burial grounds where they are not needed except to support unjust ecclesiastical pretensions, thus unnecessarily increasing irritation and strife among the ratepayers. 2. That the election of the burial authorities, with such powers as the Bill provides for, will add another to the too numerous causes of contention on religious grounds by which the parishes of England are already liable to be distracted. 3. That it provides for the division of the new burial grounds into consecrated and unconsecrated parts, with walls or other boundary marks, and separate chapels, conspicuously distinguishing those parts from one another, and will thereby perpetuate distinctions which, in the judgment of the Committee, should have no memorial in public burial grounds. 4. That the condition on which it provides that burials may take place in the churchyards in cases where the friends of the deceased desire that the service of the Established Church shall not be used, or that the service shall be performed by other than a minister of the Established Church, is offensive and unjust—namely, that there shall be no religious service or other ceremony.

"On these grounds, and because the Committee is convinced that no amendment of the Burial Laws will be satisfactory which does not provide that parishioners may be buried in the parish churchyard, either without religious services or with such services, and conducted by such persons as the friends of the deceased may prefer, the Committee consider that prompt and energetic measures should be taken to oppose the Bill at every stage."

ALEXANDER HANNAY.

Memorial Hall, April 4, 1877.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1877.

SUMMARY.

THERE seems to be no doubt that the momentous question of peace or war will be decided before the close of this week. On Friday the armistice between Turkey and Montenegro expires; and as the Porte is not disposed to make even the concessions approved of by the Six Powers and embodied in their Protocol, the armistice is not likely to be renewed. The terms proposed by the Sultan's Ministers were yesterday submitted to the Turkish Parliament, and rejected, as too favourable to Montenegro, by the decisive majority of 66 to 18. It remain to be seen whether the Porte will venture to ignore a decision which of itself goes far to imperil peace. We fear not. Midhat Pasha called into existence a power that threatens to be the ruin instead of the salvation of the Ottoman Empire. Throughout Turkey the preparations for war are unremitting, and there seems no doubt that Musulman fanaticism is prepared to support the Government in defying Russia, though the Sultan himself and some of the pashas around him are averse to pushing matters to extremities, and disapprove of the unyielding attitude of the Grand Vizier and his colleagues.

From St. Petersburg it is semi-officially announced that Friday next is the latest day allowed for the Porte to decide upon sending a special envoy to that capital for arranging the terms of mutual disarmament, and it is added:—"If the Porte resolves to send him, this must not be taken positively to imply peace any more than the reverse, for everything will depend on his message. In any case, Russia, having gone to the extreme limit of the concessions she had to make, will not draw back another step." Notwithstanding the report that Turkey has declared her willingness to send an envoy to St. Petersburg, such is not the tenour of the circular which has been sent by the Porte to its representatives abroad, which, while expressing a determination to carry out reforms, rejects those points of the Protocol which admit of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Turkey, and says the Porte will only consent to the despatch of a delegate to St. Petersburg and to disarmament if Russia is disposed to disarm simultaneously. The Cabinet further protests against the hypothesis of fresh massacres being perpetrated, an occurrence which will be prevented by the reorganisation of the gendarmerie which is now proceeding. The general tendency of the circular is to throw the onus of hostile action entirely upon Russia. This official record of the views of the Sultan's Ministers was sent out yesterday, after the several *chargés d'affaires* of the six Powers had used all their influence to extort a conciliatory reply from the Porte. Probably the last diplomatic word has not yet been spoken, and the summoning of a Cabinet Council in Downing-street to-day may indicate that our Government have not yet abandoned all hope. Not the slightest belief in pacific solution is entertained at St. Petersburg. It is expected that a war manifesto will be issued on Friday, the news received there from Constantinople indicating that the Turks regard war as preferable to the present state of suspense.

The House of Commons reassembled on Thursday last, and has been mainly occupied in voting the Supplies and with unimportant discussions. Last night Mr. Peter Taylor's annual motion for the abolition of flogging in the navy was rejected by the small majority of forty-two (164 to 122), which is almost equivalent to a victory; and the Government consented to the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the means of dealing more effectually with the floods in the valley of the Thames. To-morrow the Chancellor of the Exchequer will expound his financial plans for the year, and is expected to propose that the deficit shall be met either by an increase of the spirit duties, or by some readjustments which will prevent any increase of taxation. The expected motion of Lord Hartington challenging the wisdom of Lord Derby's declaration which follows that of Count Schouvaloff has, in the altered position of the Eastern Question, dwindled into a motion for some official papers. But by Friday night the course of events may have precluded all present discussion of recent diplomatic proceedings, and the country may be awaiting in anxious silence and apprehension the signal for the outbreak of war.

A vacancy for the borough of Salford will furnish an excellent opportunity of testing the political sentiments of an important constituency, and the Liberals hope to win the seat lately occupied by Mr. Cawley, the recent Conservative member. With entire unanimity they have fixed upon Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C., as their candidate, whose opponent, Colonel Walker, lays the greatest stress in his address on the preservation of the State-Church—a question which promises to play an important part in this electoral contest. The result will apparently depend in a measure on the course pursued by the Home-Rulers on the one hand, and the Orangemen on the other, and will fairly test the extent of the reaction against Lord Beaconsfield's Government.

While elaborate and formidable preparations are being made at the Vatican for celebrating the Jubilee of Pius IX. next June, it is doubtful whether the Pope will survive to take part in it. His state of health is extremely critical, and is aggravated by the attitude assumed by the Italian Cabinet towards the Romish clergy, and by his persistent efforts to give frequent audiences to his ecclesiastical devotees. A severe epileptoid fit, which yesterday seized upon His Holiness, created much anxiety at the Vatican.

At the strongly-expressed personal desire of the Emperor William, Prince Bismarck has withdrawn his final resignation, and received unlimited leave of absence. He is expected to leave for his country residence to-morrow, and proceed shortly to Kissingen. Although the shattered state of his health may account for the veteran statesman's retirement, it is reported that there have been serious differences between his Imperial master and himself on the Eastern Question—the German Chancellor being unable to accept the favourable policy towards Russia to which the Emperor is wedded. It is quite possible that the event, which emphasises the neutrality of Germany, may have encouraged Russia to take that decisive course of action against Turkey, which now threatens a speedy catastrophe.

THE PROTOCOL.

THE publication, in its authentic form, of the Protocol, signed in London on Saturday week by the representatives of the Six Powers, does not increase the hope that it will effectually serve to promote the peace of Europe. The leading parties to it had different objects to subserve, which are reflected in this strange diplomatic transaction; and it is difficult to say whether the end sought by Russia in proposing such a document was to consume a certain amount of time in barren negotiations, or to effect a retreat behind the other Powers of Europe. The supreme aim of Lord Derby, as representing the British Government, was to avert war; the primary object of Count Schouvaloff on behalf of Russia was to restore the European concert and bring the combined influences of the Powers to bear upon the Porte. The immediate result at first sight would be ludicrous if the matter were not so grave. Ten days have elapsed, and as we write it is not yet apparent whether the Protocol will be an operative diplomatic document or an abortion—whether the outbreak of hostilities is imminent, or whether there will be disarmament followed by peace.

The Protocol itself recognises the moral responsibility of all the Powers—they "having undertaken in common the pacification of the East"—in respect to the good government of the Turkish Empire. It urges as an essential condition that a solid peace should be concluded with Montenegro as it has been arranged with Servia, and that peace should be "consolidated" by the armies of the Porte being placed upon a peace footing. The declaration of the Sultan's Government to carry out necessary reforms is noted, and the hope is expressed that these expectations will be fulfilled, and "that the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply energetically such measures as will cause that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian populations which is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe; and that, having once entered on this path, it will understand that it concerns its honour as well as its interests to persevere in it loyally and efficaciously." By their representatives at Constantinople, and their local agents, the Powers will "carefully watch" the fulfilment of these pledges. If, however, they are disappointed—no definite time however being fixed for testing the experiment—"and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East," the representatives of the six Powers declare "that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general," and reserv to themselves the power of considering in common the course to be pursued. Thus in this Protocol it is formally put on record that the state of Turkey is a menace to the peace of Europe, and that if the danger is not removed, the Powers will take counsel together. But all threat of coercion is designedly excluded, and everything is left open to the future. What was done at the close of the Conference at Constantinople three months ago has been substantially repeated in London, and the Protocol seems to show that the Powers now as then are in complete accord.

It is in the subsequent diplomatic documents that the special reasons for the act, and the divergencies of the Powers are made apparent. In April as in January a great Russian army menaces the frontier of Turkey, and it was ostensibly with a view to secure its withdrawal, and avert war, that these negotiations were initiated. Our Government would only consent to accept the Protocol on the understanding that Russia should demobilise, and Count Schouvaloff, on behalf of his master, made a declaration to that effect, but accompanied by some important conditions, viz, that peace should be concluded with Montenegro, that the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and that a special envoy should be sent to St. Petersburg to arrange for mutual disarmament. But if massacres should be repeated in Turkey, the work of demobilisation would be stopped. Then follows a declaration from Lord Derby to the effect that inasmuch as the Protocol proposed by Russia was signed by England "solely in the interests of European peace," if that object should not be attained by reciprocal disarmament, the British Government would regard that engagement as "null and void."

It is not surprising that the political opponents of Lord Beaconsfield's Government should be somewhat perplexed as to how they ought to view this diplomatic event. It seems strange that the Eastern policy of this country, after we had sent a special Ambassador to Constantinople with a view to give it particular and practical effect, should now be altogether ignored, and that Her Majesty's Ministers should, in the end, sign an important international document "solely in the interests of European peace." No one can question their good intentions in this matter; nor their great anxiety to avert a war the results of which might be incalculable; nor, indeed, the extreme perplexity of a Government having to deal with half-a-dozen Cabinets, and particularly with one Power that was bent upon either a diplomatic triumph or upon success in the field of battle. Statesmen, however, are judged, not by their intentions, but by the results of their policy. Apparently the action of the Government has aggravated the crisis. It has not deterred Russia from pressing onward, nor has it prevented Turkey from assuming an attitude of more unyielding obstinacy. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg has in its hands a Protocol signed by all the Powers, which it interprets as giving an implied sanction to its exclusive demands. The Porte, seeing the claims of the Guaranteeing Powers upon itself put entirely into the background, not unnaturally regards the maintenance of "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire" as still the primary feature of British policy in the East, and one that will be adhered to in all emergencies. Resolute resistance on the side of Turkey; menacing demands on the part of Russia—such is already the outcome of the Protocol which was signed by the Ambassadors of the six Powers, ostensibly in the interests of the peace of Europe! Our Government, by assuming the part of mediator, have not produced the slightest effect at St. Petersburg, and have only confirmed the advisers of the Sultan in their resolution to resist. And these, it is sad to record, are the legitimate fruits of a vacillating, inconsistent, and double-faced policy which has been pursued for a year past, and has been doomed to failure at every stage of the negotiations, because Her Majesty's Ministers have throughout showed more anxiety for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire than for the well-being of its oppressed and misruled populations.

PRINCE BISMARCK.

NOTHING could be a more significant tribute to the enormous influence over human destinies with which the German Chancellor is generally credited, than the excitement and busy speculation occasioned, throughout the whole of Europe, by the mere rumour of his retirement. The real fact has now reduced itself to a four months' leave of absence. But there can be no doubt that a much longer, perhaps even an ostensibly permanent, retirement was in contemplation; and conjectures are naturally rife as to its reasons. It is very rarely that we meet,

either in the contemporary world or in history, with a man whose conduct seems so little affected by momentary impulse, and so entirely based upon deliberate, far-sighted calculation, as that of Prince Bismarck. Of course broken health may interfere with the best-laid schemes; and we can well believe that the strain of a position inferior in responsibility to that of no potentate on earth, but hampered by difficulties much more harassing than those of crowned heads, may at times become intolerable even to the strongest brain and the firmest nerves. But in affairs of State, as indeed in humbler walks of life, broken health, as a reason for the relinquishment of office, so often derives its principal force from the pressure of other difficulties, that it is impossible to resist the impression that this has been the case in the present instance. And the other difficulties of Prince Bismarck are so evident, that though speculation may be wrong as to the special annoyance felt most painfully, we cannot be far wrong in conjecturing the general reasons for a resolve to bring things to a crisis, and to conquer freer scope either by the dread of his loss, or by a temporary experience of its results.

The range of the great Chancellor's ambition has been magnificent, and its pursuit has involved an almost infinite variety of intricate schemes; but he is not the less a man of one idea. To revive the German Empire under a stronger and more truly national leadership than that of Austria, and to restore to this empire something of that Roman predominance, the inheritance of which was its ancient boast—such is the idea that has inspired his whole career. To this one end he has postponed, if not deliberately subordinated, all other forms of political progress, all commercial interests, and every other human blessing dependent on the security of peace. Whether we think the prize worth the cost, or not, it is impossible to help admiring, with the sort of wonder excited by all works of transcendent genius, the marvellous combinations of diplomacy and strategy that have secured step by step the realisation of this idea. The foresight that can determine every move in half-a-dozen simultaneous games at chess appears to most of us little short of a miracle. But what is this to the prevision which, glancing over the obscure and stormy sea of political selfishness and passion, draws certainly out of apparently incalculable elements, and arranges, years beforehand, expedients adequate to every contingency of diplomatic or popular caprice? The strategy by which Austria was drawn into the war of federal execution against Denmark; the use made of the position then gained for Prussia; the keen discernment of the altered balance of power arising therefrom, and the swift advantage taken of it; the patient, persevering organisation of national military resources, in the course of which the Danish and Austrian wars were treated as mere exercises in training for a more heroic enterprise; the unsleeping watchfulness with which the intrigues of courts and the mutual inclinations or repulsions of royalties and peoples, were made subservient to the one ultimate design; the tiger-like spring upon France when all was ready; and the triumphant proclamation of the new Empire under the walls of Paris:—these things have, altogether, a dramatic completeness, bearing the unmistakeable stamp of a single will, and that a will directed by a political intellect such as the world has rarely, if ever, seen before.

But, as Alexander is fabled to have wept because there were no more worlds to conquer, so even the grandest ambition is discontented with its own realisation. Or, rather, perhaps, its realisation only reveals how uncertain is its permanence, and awakes a restless desire to surround with ever-fresh guarantees so costly a work. The long historical associations of German patriotism with federal divisions unfavourable to national unity cannot be neutralised in a single generation. The mutual jealousies arising therefrom are heightened by the comparative novelty of a Prussian headship. Germany, like all other continental nations, except, perhaps, Spain and Mahomedan Turkey, is troubled and occasionally distracted by the invisible, all-pervasive, and irrepressible fermentation of ideas going on amongst the masses of the people. Local jealousies and revolutionary speculations are always quickened by such commercial depression and general distress as have avenged the vanquished French upon their victors. Under these circumstances Prince Bismarck may well feel that the country still needs some analogy to that dictatorship resorted to by the Romans in great national emergencies. And if one will is to be predominant, surely it ought to be that of the intellect that has proved itself capable of such regenerating inspiration. But the system of government in Germany makes such a predominance exceedingly precarious. The Ministers there have not a corporate but an individual responsibility. A premiership, as we understand it, is unknown. Every high official advises the Crown separately, and such advice may be conflicting. It is said that difficulties arising from this source actuated Prince Bismarck in his demand for relief; and it is highly probable that there is some truth in this. The Particularists also have been very harassing in their guerilla warfare against his internal policy. On both accounts he may have believed that the prospect of his retirement would have a salutary influence both on the Court and on the nation; and from the fact that this retirement has sunk into an insignificant vacation of four months, we should presume that his calculation has been verified. One point most interesting to foreign nations has been the relation of this retirement to the prospects of peace or war. Our own idea is that the Chancellor has long been grimly smiling at the childish impotence of English diplomacy; and, having made up his mind that war was inevitable, he has taken his measures accordingly. Even his temporary retirement is inconsistent with the idea that Germany intends to interfere with Russian execution on Turkish murderers.

Literature.

*MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD ON CHURCH AND RELIGION.**

The volume before us consists of four essays and a preface, and professes to be Mr. Arnold's last contribution towards the settlement of the questions on religion and its ecclesiastical modes of expression which are current in modern life. The preface and the first two essays deal with questions relating to the essentials of religion and Christianity; the other two essays discuss matters connected with Church and State, or with Church and Dissent. In many respects we find the present volume more pleasing than those which have preceded it. It has all the charm of style which it is so much the fashion to extol, and for which we think Mr. Arnold has been much over-praised. Mr. Arnold does indeed write beautiful English—easy, luminous, felicitous—but it is not altogether free from mannerisms and affectations; he is too fond of borrowing German phrases when English equivalents might be used; and his extreme distaste for what he regards as metaphysical phraseology makes him sometimes positively clumsy and ugly, because he will not express metaphysical ideas in the same way that other people do. There is less of this in his last volume than in the previous ones, because Mr. Arnold does not go so thoroughly into the topics which are before him, but summarises results and touches lightly on the reasons for them. We are glad also to find that Mr. Arnold has abstained from the jesting and personalities which have often made him appear less in earnest than he really is. He does not, however, yet know how to behave to Dissenters—as we shall see—and does not seem conscious that he is really a Dissenter himself of a very schismatic type, and that his persistency in fixing himself ecclesiastically in the Church of England is nothing but a piece of wilfulness which looks like either a joke or a burglary, according to the point of view from which it is regarded. To an outsider, Mr. Arnold's profession of Churchmanship suggests some such emotions as the story about Sheridan giving his name as Wilberforce to a policeman who found him lying drunk in the streets: while we should imagine that the bishops and genuine members of the English Church, when they see Mr. Arnold among them, must feel somewhat as a hedge-sparrow feels when it receives a morning visit from a cuckoo. In this, as in many other cases, we believe that Mr. Arnold's ecclesiastical position is determined, not so much by the logic of his creed, or no-creed, as by his traditional and social habits and associations. We ourselves know Dissenters who feel strong ecclesiastical sympathy with the Church of England, but who find a still more irresistible attraction in the social and religious types of character which they find among Dissenters, and which seem to them almost inseparably associated with Dissenting religious culture. We can therefore understand Mr. Arnold's preferences for the Church of his father, and of his fathers; but we do think that he is so much of a theological Ishmaelite that he ought to feel a little more respect and toleration for the wandering tribes outside his own tents than he has yet learnt to feel.

Much of the contents of this last volume may be accepted as a sterling addition to English literature, independent of its polemical bearing. In the essay on a Psychological Parallel, the sketches which the author gives of Mr. John Smith, the representative of Cambridge Platonists in the seventeenth century are very charming. But when he argues that, because the most enlightened men in the seventeenth century believed in witchcraft, therefore the intellectual character of St. Paul must not be allowed to suffer damage because he believed in miracles and the Resurrection, we demur strongly to the parallel. The belief in the supernatural so evidently belongs to man, at all stages of culture and civilisation, that the effort of modern scientific and literary teachers to banish this belief from society leaves the deepest portions of human history without a key, and multiplies mysteries, instead of abolishing them. Certainly, if we were seeking for an explanation of the belief in witchcraft itself, we should not go either to Mr. Matthew Arnold or to any of the "Consulting Theologians" who are so fond of hectoring about superstition and credulity, and offer us only the ashes of protoplasm and atomic forces as the residuum left of the corpses of our incremated theologies and supernaturalism. It seems to us that the belief in witchcraft cannot yet be used in the way that Mr. Arnold uses it. It has not yet been sufficiently correlated to the historic course of thought in which it is one feature. We have no right at present to give ourselves airs of superiority to those who believed in it, or to suppose that it was merely a detached superstition that had no fibres of relation to beliefs that are everlastingly valid. It might be even worth while to retain a belief in witchcraft rather than kill all sense of spiritual presences and powers outside the level plane of nature in order to get rid of the extravagant and untenable excrescences that attach themselves to this kind of consciousness. Mr. Arnold does not seem to believe in the kind of progress that Tennyson so admirably describes,—

> That men may rise on stepping stones
> Of their dead selves, to higher things.

He counsels us to descend, rather than ascend, by these stepping-stones, and instead of finding a sounder basis for the belief in the supernatural which these exploded forms of it expressed, to abandon the belief altogether, and leave life and history and humanity stripped of its mystery, and all the power and beauty and inspiration which can only be derived from a sense of the actual presence and operation of forces which no science of nature can name, much less explain. If Christianity cannot give us a nobler supernaturalism than the Pagan mythologies, we prefer to keep them, with all their poetry and loveliness. Our modern prophets invite us to extinguish all light shining from afar, and be content with the gas which they offer at so much per thousand feet, duly laid on and conveyed in their philosophic meters and conduits. We prefer sunshine, and starlight in harmonious alternation.

Of course this constitutes us Obscurantists and Philistines and other ugly things, which Mr. Arnold is fond of calling those who will not wear the livery of the most advanced expositors of light and culture. In his preface he tells us what sort of results have been reached by the most advanced thinkers in Europe in their efforts to obtain a liberal and well-grounded faith. We, benighted English Christians, have no idea, he tells us, how completely we have been left behind by continental liberalism. We have been condemning the destructive tendencies of his book on "Literature and Dogma," while the most cultivated thinkers in France and Italy complain of the same book as too conservative in its treatment of the Bible and Christianity, too gentle in its handling of discredited traditions and effete dogmas. Unlike these accomplished but revolutionary gentlemen, Mr. Arnold wishes to retain the Bible and Christianity as the most fitting basis for religious life; and the question that remains to be discussed is the natural truth of Christianity, as Mr. Arnold understands it, deprived of all its traditionary accessories and stripped of all supernaturalism. In discussing this question Mr. Arnold returns to his oft-repeated principle that conduct is three-fourths of life, and therefore that Christianity is to be judged by its capability of directing and inspiring right conduct. It has always appeared to us that in making this his starting-point Mr. Arnold misses the real spiritual essence of Christianity altogether. It is quite a mistake to judge of the importance of a thing, whether in the physical or spiritual sphere, by its gross mass or weight. We do not say that the liver is a more important organ than the brain because it is bigger and more bulky. And if conduct occupies a larger place in our observation of character than the ruling loves and impulses of the heart, yet these are

* *Last Essays on Church and Religion.* By Matthew Arnold. (London: Smith and Elder.)

truly the living forces and springs from which all conduct issues and by which its true worth is determined. Mr. Arnold misses the real essence both of human nature and of Christianity when he dwells thus exclusively on action, and its righteous or unrighteous quality, as the central question in religion. Action is a means to an end, and that end is life—and Christianity regards the knowledge or vision of God as the highest form of life, and the only condition of blessedness. The distinguishing feature of Christianity, is that by it the claims of action and contemplation are reconciled. A mere pietist tends to a mystical Quietism in which action is neglected, but Christ's teaching is—"If thou wouldst enter into life keep the commandments"—and life means knowledge of God. Now, unless this conception of life is emptied of all its significance and reduced to a dry and sapless notion, it cannot be satisfied by a God who is capable only of subjective verification. It claims to be lifted above the level of mere nature. Mr. Arnold thinks this aspiration can be met by the announcement of some nondescript Not-me that makes for righteousness—a metaphysical essence far more shadowy than the personal God which he chooses to laugh at as an abstraction of theologians.

We need not, however, follow Mr. Arnold into these oft-repeated arguments, and we are not careful to vindicate for Bishop Butler's analogy an adaptation to the requirements of modern forms of thought which it does not possess. Mr. Arnold's sketch of Bishop Butler is of course most graphic and attractive, and is perhaps the most interesting part of this volume. We can heartily commend this as a valuable introduction to the study of Butler's writings.

Our remarks on Mr. Matthew Arnold's discussions on Church and State and Dissent must be deferred till next week.

*MUIR'S MAHOMET.**

Since the appearance of Mr. Carlyle's lectures on "Hero-worship," it has been too much the habit to regard Mahomet as the bringer to Arabia of a modified Christianity. He has been represented as the prophet of the only form of Christianity which would have availed to draw these fiery-hearted children of the Eastern deserts from idolatry to something higher and better, and to prepare them for the advent of a purer evangel. In a word, the view, derived from Mr. Carlyle, which has widely prevailed, is a purely sentimental and imaginative one, throwing into the background very obstructive elements, which even to this day are operative, as we know to our cost, in European politics. To anyone who has imbibed these ideas, we should say read Sir William Muir's "Life of Mahomet." It is by no means imaginative or sentimental, though it is decidedly thorough-going and impartial. He is very willing to allow all that can be said for Islam, and is not blind to the romantic associations which have arisen around it. But he has pushed his inquiries too carefully and too far to be misled by the glamour of a false enthusiasm and from the very first he traces out, and faithfully signalises, the defects of Mahomet's character, which were only strengthened with time and final success. And he has seen too much of the practical developments of Mahometanism in the East not to be fully alive to the dangers to which any other influence is exposed which comes, or even seems to come, directly into conflict with it. "The Life of Mahomet," as a study is wonderfully complete, indicating along with a cautiously realistic historic sense, great reconstructive power, analogous to that of the comparative anatomist. For much in the life of Mahomet is vague, or surrounded by legend. Out of little—a mere hint or half-fact—a whole period has often to be reconstructed; while a majestic crop of creations due to fertile Arabic recorders have to be sifted and set aside.

The present edition contains nearly all the text, here and there slightly enlarged, of the earlier one in four volumes, but most of the notes and the references to original authorities have been omitted, as well as the introductory chapters on the pre-Islamite history of Arabia. It is thus a very handy popular edition of a work which has already taken its place among standard histories. By way of support to what we have said respecting Sir William Muir's impartiality and judicial habit we present the following passages from one of his concluding chapters:—

> What have been the effects of the system which, established by such instrumentality, Mahomet left behind him? We may freely concede that it banished for ever many of the darker elements of superstition for ages shrouding the Peninsula. Idolatry vanished before the battle-cry of Islam; the doctrine of the unity and infinite perfections of God and of a special and all-pervading Providence became a living principle in the hearts and lives of the followers of Mahomet, even as in his own. An absolute surrender and submission to the Divine Will (the idea conveyed by the very name of *Islâm*) was demanded as the first requirement of the religion. Nor are social virtues wanting. Brotherly love is inculcated towards all within the circle of the faith; infanticide is proscribed; orphans are to be protected, and slaves treated with consideration; intoxicating drinks are prohibited, and Mahometanism may boast of a degree of temperance unknown to any other creed.
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> Yet these benefits have been purchased at a costly price. Setting aside considerations of minor import, three radical evils flow from the faith in all ages, and in every country, and must continue to flow *so long as the* Koran is the standard of belief. First: polygamy, divorce, and slavery are maintained and perpetuated; striking at the root of public morals, poisoning domestic life and disorganising society. Second: freedom of thought and private judgment in religion are crushed and annihilated. The sword still is, and must remain, the inevitable penalty for the renunciation of Islam. Toleration is unknown. Third: a barrier has been interposed against the reception of Christianity. They labour under a miserable delusion who suppose that Mahometanism paves the way for a purer faith. No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has sway from the light of truth. *Idolatrous* Arabia (judging from the analogies of other nations) might have been aroused to spiritual life and to the adoption of the faith of Jesus. *Mahometan* Arabia is, to the human eye, sealed against the benign influences of the Gospel.
>
> In conclusion, I would warn the reader against seeking to pourtray to himself a character in all its parts consistent, as that of Mahomet. On the contrary, the strangest inconsistencies were blended (according to the wont of human nature) throughout his life. The student of history will trace for himself how the pure and lofty aspirations of Mahomet were first tinged, and then gradually debased, by a half unconscious self-deception, and how in this process truth merged into falsehood, sincerity into guile. The reader will observe that simultaneously with the anxious desire to extinguish idolatry and to promote religion and virtue in the world, there was fostered by the prophet, in his own heart, a licentious self-indulgence; till in the end, assuming to be the favourite of heaven, he justified himself by revelation from God in flagrant breaches of morality. He will remark that while Mahomet cherished a kind and tender disposition, "weeping with them that weep," and binding to his person the hearts of his followers by the ready and self-sacrificing offices of love and friendship, he could yet take pleasure in cruel and perfidious assassination, could gloat over the massacre of an entire tribe, and savagely consign the innocent babe to the fires of hell.

* *The Life of Mahomet.* From original sources. By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, LL.D. New edition. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

*"THE NEW REPUBLIC."**

This is a very original and suggestive work. If we could imagine Mr. Anthony Trollope and Sir Arthur Helps combined, with a slight *soupçon* of Mr. Matthew Arnold, we might get pretty near to the leading characteristics of the book. It is clearly written by a man who knows society and can discriminate and deal readily with its typical personages; who has also read and meditated in a self-withdrawn and disinterested way on some of its more difficult problems; and who has the unique faculty of presenting actual living men under thin disguises, with the slightest touch of satiric extravaganza, which does not in the least detract from the general truth of the picture, and yet carries with it almost the interest of fiction. To those who can recognise the originals of Mr. Leslie and Mr. Luke, Mr. Rose and Mr. Herbert, Mr. Saunders and Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Stockton and Dr. Jenkinson, there will be added to the general interest a series of special points, enhancing greatly the humour which is discernible even in the graver passages. For though the form is light, delicate, and playful, it is clear enough that many of the questions treated have been seriously studied, and that the author here contrives to veil a very decided and well-thought-out philosophy of society, religion and art. The structure is decidedly after the fashion suggested by the title: it is one of many modern imitations of Plato's Republic—a form which lent itself readily to certain Italian writers, and has been very successfully adopted in our own day by a truly great writer, Sir Arthur Helps. But here we have more variety of range and interest than Sir Arthur was inclined to allow himself, more adaptability and invention and dramatic scope, if we must impartially add that something of definitive concentration and purpose are perhaps lacking, which, too, are always found in the other. The one criticism to be offered upon the book is that there is wanting to it something of determinate, steadying purpose; but it is, from first to last, ingenious, humorous, and suggestive. Mr. Otho Lawrence, the nephew and heir of an old Tory virtuoso, who has spent a lifetime in roaring the most sumptuous and *recherché* of villas, invites to this villa a select circle of friends to spend a short time. There they discuss a variety of topics, representing pretty well the wide field of art, literature, and social reconstruction. Not a little of the interest results from the presence of the ladies—Lady Ambrose, Mrs. Sinclair, Miss Merton, and others—who each contribute something individual or piquante. No little art is shown in the quite natural way in which one topic passes into another by quite imperceptible stages; and the use that is made of the various characters for this purpose. The first subject discussed is "The Aim of Life," on which many lights are thrown; but the most distinctive deliverance is perhaps that of Mr. Luke:—

> "Culture," says he, "is the union of two things—fastidious taste and liberal sympathy. These can only be gained by wide reading guided by sweet reason; and when they are gained, Lady Ambrose, we are conscious, as it were, of a new sense, which at once enables us to discern the Eternal and the absolutely righteous, wherever we find it, whether in an Epistle of St. Paul's or in a comedy of Menander's. It is true that culture sets aside the larger part of the New Testamenta s grotesque, barbarous, and immoral; but what remains, purged of its apparent meaning, it discerns to be a treasure beyond all price. And in Christianity—such Christianity, I mean, as true taste can accept—culture sees the guide to the real significance of life, and the explanation," Mr. Luke added with a sigh, "of that melancholy which in our day is attendant upon all clear sight."
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> "But why," said Allen, "if you know so well what life's meaning is, need you feel this melancholy at all?"
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> "Ah!" said Mr. Luke, "it is from this very knowledge that the melancholy I speak of springs. We—the cultured—we indeed see. But the world at large does not. It will not listen to us. It thinks we are talking nonsense. Surely that is enough to sadden us. Then, too, our ears are perpetually pained and deafened by the din of the two opposing Philistinisms—science and orthodoxy—both equally vulgar and equally useless. But the masses cannot see this. It is impossible to persuade some that science can teach them nothing worth knowing, and others that the dogmatic utterances of the Gospels are either ignorant mistakes, or Oriental metaphors."

And thus Mr. Luke goes along, serenely pursuing his own thoughts in spite of the polished indifference of Doctor Jenkinson, and the hard scientific persistency of Mr. Saunders and Mr. Stockton. Dr. Jenkinson, with his polish and versatility, is for reducing all religions to a kind of common level, drawing Christianity out as a necessary common result of many forces that have been working in the world, erecting science into a sort of equal authority in an optimistic dispensation, where all works for good, and where there is no such thing as evil—

> "The work of science, I know, is twofold," said Mr. Herbert, speculative and practical.
>
> "Exactly so," said Mr. Storks, approvingly.
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> "And all it can do for us in speculation," said Mr. Herbert, "is to teach us that we have no life hereafter; all it can do for us in practice is to ruin our life here. It enervates us by providing us with base usury; it degrades us by turning our attention to base knowledge."
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> "No, no," said Dr. Jenkinson, with one of his little laughs, "not that. I didn't think, Mr. Storks, that Mr. Herbert always quite means what he says. We mustn't take him at his word."
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> "My dear sir," said Mr. Herbert, turning to the Doctor, "you are a consecrated priest of the mystica Church of Christ"—Dr. Jenkinson winced terribly at this—"and let we ask you if you think it the work of Christ to bring into men's minds eternal corruption instead of eternal life—or rather not corruption, I should say, but putrefaction. For what is putrefaction but decomposition? And at the touch of science all our noblest ideals decompose and putrefy, till our whole souls are strewn with dead hopes and dead religions, with corpses of all the thoughts we loved."
>
> "Quickening slowly into lower forms.
>
> You may call it analysis, but I call it death."
>
> "I wish we could persuade you," said Mr. Stockton, very temperately, "to take a fairer view of things. Surely truth cannot in the long run be anything but life-giving."
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> "Let us take care of facts," said Mr. Storks, "and fictions—I beg your pardon, religion—will take care o itself."
>
> "And religion," said Mr. Stockton, "will take car of itself very well. Of course, we don't waste time now in thinking about personal immortality. *We* shall not live; but the mind of man will; and religion will live too, being part of the mind of man. Religion is, indeed, to the inner world what the sky is to the outer. It is the mind's canopy—the infinite mental azure in which the mysterious source of our being is at once revealed and hidden. Let us beware, then, of not considering religion noble; but let us beware still more of considering it true. We may fancy that we trace in the clouds shapes of real things; and, as long as we know that this is only fancy, I know of no holier occupation for the human mind than such cloud-gazing. But let us always recollect that the cloud which to us may seem shaped like a son of man, may seem to another to be backed like a weasel, and to another very like a whale. What, then," Mr. Stockton added, "can be nobler study than the great book of Nature, or, as we used to call it, the works of God?"
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> "Pray do not think," said Mr. Herbert, "that I complain of this generation because it studies nature. I complain of it because it does not study her. Yes!" he went on, as he saw Mr. Stockton start, "you can analyse her in your test tubes, you can spy at her through your microscopes; but can you see her with your own eyes, or receive her into your own souls? You can tell us what she makes her wonders of, and how she makes them, and how long she takes about it; but you cannot tell us what these wonders are like when they are made.". . .

We wish he had had space to have given some

* *The New Republic; or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country-house.* In Two Vols. (Chatto and Windus.)

specimens of Dr. Jenkinson's wonderful eclectic sermon, in which he reduces Christianity to a merely necessary historical result—the sum total of many accretions, and finds it in one word a preservative of society, and a great incubus when associated, as it tends to be, with superstition and strict dogmatics. This is one of the cleverest pieces of writing we have read for a long time. It is an effort at reconciling varied interests, the ambition to fuse in one, under a general definition, influences and tendencies that have heretofore been deemed repugnant. "In the face of recent criticism," said the doctor, "we cannot even be quite sure about any of the details of the Divine life of our Lord. But in all this"—the doctor's voice here became still more aerial, and he fixed his eyes upon the painted ceiling of the theatre, as though he were gazing on some glorious vision—"in all this there is nothing to discompose us. We can be quite sure that He lived and that He went about doing good, and that in Him we have in the highest sense our everlasting life." It is with the same regret that we have to leave uncited some of Mr. Luke's poems. For these, as for the sermons, our readers would do well to go to the volumes themselves. We can but add a few choice epigrammatic morsels culled here and there from the volumes. Mr. Leslie says:—

Many people, I know, think that books and culture are a kind of substitute for life, and that the real masters in the art of living have no need for this poor *pis-aller*. . . . . Culture is not the substitute for life, but the key to it. It is really to the men of culture, to the men who have read and who have thought, that all exercise, all distractions, mental or bodily, moral or immoral, yield their finer, keener pleasures.

Mr. Lawrence says:—

I think it was the late Lord Lytton who remarked in one of his books what an offensive thing gaiety was sure to be in any woman except one of the most perfect good breeding. So, too, with humour—the greater sense of humour a well-bred man has, the more delightful he is: the greater sense of humour a vulgar man has, the more intolerable he is.

Mr. Lawrence's adaptation of Aristotle's Ethics is excellent. We read:—

Thirty-nine articles of religion may be too few for the present Archbishop of Westminster, and three may be too many for the Dean. . . . . The habit of thought in a clergyman may be so strong and unrestrained as to lead him to speak his whole conclusions out, and so get deprived of his living; or, on the other hand, it may be so weak and undeveloped that he comes to no conclusions at all, and so dies in a curacy: the meanness between these two extremes being what is called vagueness, or the absence of any defined opinions, which is a great merit, and leads, in the Established Church, to great preferment.

Mr. Saunders, at one place, affirms:—

I agree with my great forerunner Hobbes, that the strongest of all pleasures are those arising from the gratification of curiosity; and he is the real ethical philosopher who subordinates all other appetites to this, like Bacon, who lost his life through pursuing a scientific experiment!

The book abounds in rich thought and in epigrammatic sentences, and is full of suggestiveness, point, and humour; and taken as it is meant to be taken, it will supply significant hints as to many tendencies of science and thought at the present time.

*SERJEANT COX ON PUNISHMENT.**

Let no one imagine, from the dedication of this work that the writer must be singularly wanting in judgment. The work is dedicated to Mr. Cross, M.P., to whom Mr. Serjeant Cox refers as a man of "unrivalled ability and energy." Now, if the author had used moderately just language nobody could have thought of assessing the abilities of the merits of Mr. Cross, but when he indulges in ridiculous superlatives we at once see upon how much lower a pedestal the subject of his eulogy stands than the one upon which Mr. Cox's fervent and grateful imagination has placed him. In public estimation Mr. Cross will be worse off for Mr. Cox's eulogy than he would have been without any eulogy at all.

This, however, is a little thing to notice, and we only notice it in order to guard the reader from conceiving a prejudice against what he will find to be a really valuable and sensible work. "Sensible" is the most characteristic term by which to describe it. Mr. Cox has had, perhaps, exceptional experience in his profession. As he informs us, he has had considerable practice at the bar, was chairman of a bench of magistrates for fourteen years, has been Recorder of Falmouth and Portsmouth, and is Deputy-Assistant Judge at the Middlesex Sessions. In the course of his experience he has had to try upwards of 13,000 prisoners. He noticed, what has often enough been commented upon, that the decisions of judges and magistrates for similar, and often identical, offences seem to be regulated by no sort of rule or principle. Let us quote his own experience:—

In the course of my practice, I had noted the extraordinary diversity of sentences passed upon criminals, not only by different courts, but by judges of the same court, for offences apparently alike. But I was aware also how difficult it is for any person, not being in the position of the judge who tries the case, to form a fair opinion of the propriety of the sentence. So many circumstances, not admissible at the trial, are to be taken into account for the purpose of punishment—so many inquiries into the antecedents of the convict and the general history of the case are to be made—that divers considerations often present themselves to affect the sentence, of which the public can know nothing. Therefore I was at first inclined to attribute the diversity of sentences to this cause. But recalling the various instances within my memory of the most astounding differences in punishments for crimes substantially the same, and finding that other practitioners had made the like observation, I was curious to ascertain the cause.

After giving illustrations and authorities relating to this point, Mr. Cox fairly asks, Whence these diversities? And he answers the question with both fairness and frankness:—

Is it not that judges and magistrates are moved more by impulse than by rule? Each has his own views of the spirit in which the law should be enforced. Some hold leniency, others severity, to be the best policy. Accordingly, an offence which one punishes with six months of imprisonment the other punishes with two; where one imposes a penalty of 5s. the other imposes a penalty of 10s. Reviewing my own experiences, I found the same uncertainties. The question presented itself, whence they proceeded? The answer was obvious. Practically, sentences are regulated by no rule. They are, in fact, the momentary promptings of the mind. Habit, not reason, has associated with certain offences certain punishments, and so far they are not altogether arbitrary. But even to this extent they are the practice of the individual judge or magistrate. They are not based upon any *principles* capable of being generally recognised and acted upon. Hence their curious diversity.

It is obvious, of course, that this should not be, and that it is anything but justice. Often the prisoner does not get justice, and very often society does not get justice. In either of these cases the end of punishment is frustrated. A vindictive sentence, given in a moment of irritation or ill-temper, spoils a criminal and depreciates the authority of the law. On the other hand, an easy sentence is calculated to excite in the mind of the criminal a correspondingly easy feeling with regard to crime. Of course, no one expects that perfect justice can be attained in every case; but what we have a right to expect is that the law should not be brought into contempt, as it now is, by the ignorance and the weakness of those who are called upon to administer it. It is to assist in remedying this evil that Serjeant Cox has written this work, which he modestly describes as "nothing more than hints for the guidance of the mind in resolving what should be the punishment according to the character and circumstances of the offence." The reader will, however, find more than "hints" in this work. He will find principles well defined and clearly laid down, and a strong common sense guided by large experience brought to bear in the application of those principles. He has, in fact, made a practical application of Horace's well-known words—which might have been placed upon the title-page of his work—

> Let rules be fixed that may our rage contain,
> And punish faults with a proportioned pain;
> And do not flay him, who deserves alone
> A whipping for the fault that he has done.

We must pass over the author's chapters on the Purpose of Punishment, and his Classification of Crimes and Criminals, on the Principle of Punishment and the Legal Classification of Crimes, &c., to give one or two illustrations—which are all that we have space for—of his mode of dealing with his subject. Take the case of juvenile offenders. What is to be done with them? This is how the author states the case—

Half-a-dozen boys are summoned for breaking public lamps or smashing expensive windows by wanton stone-throwing. They are young—they are thoughtless—they are what we, their judges now, probably were at their ages. They are not wicked, only wild and inconsiderate. What is to be done to them? The *law* says they shall pay the damage and a penalty, or be imprisoned for a limited time if they cannot pay. Of course *they* cannot pay a fine and costs, however trifling. It is a mockery of justice to call on a labouring lad earning five shillings per week to pay forty or fifty shillings. He *could* not pay so much as five shillings.

If he has parents, perhaps they pay the penalty for him. They pawn their clothes, or the other children are stinted in their food, and the whole family suffers the punishment while the offender goes free. In such case *he* is not punished, and probably not even deterred from repeating an offence from which he has escaped with so little inconvenience to himself, although with so much misery to others, while, as an *example*, this punishment is worse than worthless.

But if he has no friends, or they cannot or will not pay the penalty, what is the sole alternative permitted to the magistrate?

Either to send him to gaol, or permit him to go altogether unpunished.

Well, what is to be done? The question is discussed by Serjeant Cox with exceeding carefulness. He states the moral danger of sending young persons to prison, pointing out how they lose the terror of the gaol; how they are inevitably tainted and degraded; and how, in the case of a young girl, it is "absolute ruin." The learned serjeant proceeds to advocate whipping as the least objectionable and most effective punishment, and, certainly, his argument is well stated, if not altogether conclusive.

We next take the case of frauds—frauds, say, by educated persons. And here the author has some pertinent observations to make concerning the influence of education upon crime,—

Crime by fraud is becoming daily more abundant, because it is found to be safer as well as more profitable than crime by theft or violence. Education has wrought this change. It is one of the evils which appears to be attendant upon all human progress. It is, of course, a popular fallacy that education, *per se*, is a cure for crime. Education does not in any manner change the moral faculties. The "three R's" alone but give to the evil disposition a greater desire for self-indulgence and more skill for the gratification of it by dishonest means.

Now, see the inequality of the law,—

The judge who tries a boy for stealing a loaf, or a poor rogue for picking a pocket of a handkerchief, and records his conviction for felony, and punishes him as a felon, cannot but be painfully conscious of the unsoundness of the existing law when the next defendant who appears in the dock is a man who can plead in excuse neither ignorance, nor pressing want, nor sudden temptation, but who, being educated and *because he is educated*, has deliberately planned an elaborate fraud by which he has robbed, not one person only, but a hundred persons, and not of the value of a few pence only but of hundreds of pounds. Not less is it revolting to him to hear this great wrong called *misdemeanour* only, and the wholesale plunderer politely termed "the defendant," instead of "the prisoner," as the other was, and the punishment imposed by the law probably limited to imprisonment. Nor is this all. The law, as interpreted, has provided for such an offender extraordinary facilities for escape by the difficulties it has thrown in the way of proof, combined with the natural reluctance of a prosecutor to incur the cost and harass that attend the pursuit of justice under difficulties which prudence dictates to him not to hazard for the sake of punishing a rascal whose repression is more important to the community than to the individual victim.

Here the author's suggestions are very valuable, and especially one for the alteration of the law. But, all through the work, the reader will find such matter. To magistrates such a book should be simply invaluable.

* *The Principles of Punishment as applied in the Administration of the Criminal Law by Judges and Magistrates.* By Edward W. Cox. (London: *Law Times* Office.)

THE MAGAZINES FOR APRIL.

Blackwood opens with a well-written article on the "French Army in 1877." It is written with special knowledge, and the result is—well substantiated—that if Germany were to attack France again, "France would look her calmly in the face, and would say to her, in the consciousness of sufficient strength—it is too late." But why should Germany attack France again?" "A Woman Hater" brings out some especially novel attitudes for a tale—far more novel than is usually produced in fictitious literature, while the end of the plot is kept in a sort of delicious suspense. "Crete" is good, but "In the Hebrides" is weak. The article upon Harriet Martineau is hard, but so was Harriet herself—justice without sympathy. To relieve heavy matter we have a humorous "Railway Journey," and, of course, there is the "Political Situation," just as it stood last month. Still, as always, the literary qualities of *Blackwood* ever compensate for its political deficiencies.

"Erema" alone should make the *Cornhill*, although we do not see the reasonableness of the plot in the present number, nor why Erema should be cast where she is. Still, the drawing is powerful, as everything from Mr. Blackmore must be. Mr. Leslie Stephen's article on Charles Kingsley is too analytic, but he evidently intends it to be analytic. "Sicilian Folk Songs" is deliciously genial; how could it but be from a daughter of Lady Duff Gordon? There are good papers also, on "Quiet Marriages," and the "Leading Power of Rain," but it strikes us that "Carita" hangs fire. How should it not be so when the authoress has so many irons to play with?

Fraser is as solid as usual—and therefore too solid—which we have said before. We wonder whether the "Popular Songs of Tuscany" comes from a friend of the author recently referred to? "Our Inland Navigation" is a novel article in relation to canals *v.* railways—which should be its title. "The Bedoween of the Arabian Desert" gives us, on the whole, little information, but we have in the "Moral Treatment of Insanity," a most valuable and suggestive history — bringing out especially the superiority of moral to physical influence in the treatment of the insane. And why not, therefore, of criminals? This is *one* question which, perhaps, the next generation will answer. We decline to accept the "Apology for the Competitive System," but we read with genial temper the article on "Master

Robert Shallow." There is a well-reasoned article on the "Local Control of the Drink Traffic," but it goes beyond our acceptance, although the tendency is in the right direction. There are other articles on "Old and Young"—suggestive but fragmentary—"British Trade," with respect to Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands—thorough in information—and some mere ineffective Etruscan work. Why not drop this subject while nothing can be proved?

Temple Bar is an extremely good number, but again we have to complain that in the "American Senator" Mr. Trollope leaves out the Senator altogether. In fact, the title has now become a misnomer. We can only suppose that Mr. Trollope did not find himself capable of working out his original intention. "Cherry Ripe" we prefer at present to pass by until we see more of the tale, but we have a genial article on Charles Young, the actor, and another on Maria Theresa. "Deronda's Mother" is ingenious but not conclusive. The lady is identified as Mr. Disraeli's mother. By-the-bye, we ought not to omit reference to a capital humorous tale entitled "The Three L's," which, in the midst of current heavy literature, is well worth reading.

Belgravia opens with more chapters of "The World well Lost," by Mrs. Lynn Linton, in which we have the most delicious sketches of a *parvenu* family—the more delicious that they are done without any viciousness—rather with kindliness of manner. Mr. Charles Reade writes with surprising effectiveness. Mr. Proctor contributes an amusing paper on "Comets as Portents"; Mr. Payn a humorous tale; and Mrs. Cameron brings to a close "Juliet." Well! nothing in fictitious literature surprises us, but Mrs. Cameron has brought "Juliet" to a conclusion in the most sharp melodramatic manner that "was ever heard of." We must quote a vulgar saying to express our exact meaning.

London Society has its usual complement of light fictitious literature—the literature to beguile just a quarter of an hour. Not that "London Society" can be read through in that time, but it can be taken up and put down when there is nothing else to do. This, of "Private Views" amongst artists' studios, well expressed; of "Piccadilly Papers," with their suggestive comment; and, more serious, of "Girl Labour in London," the last a painfully suggestive paper, containing painful information. The tales are well carried on, especially "The Dreamland of Love," with its delicious French sketches.

We have three or four tales in *Tinsley* by good writers, who, however, are not so sensational as usual. We refer to "Two Knaves and a Queen," by Mr. F. Barrett, to "Meg Myrtle," by Mrs. Kingsford, and to "Alive or Dead," by Mrs. Fraser—although the latter is, perhaps, a little in the "Diary of a Late Physician's" style. And, by-the-bye, how is it that no one has noticed that Mr. Warren was the introducer of this style? A paper on "Science" in this magazine is altogether too fragmentary, but pleasant and original is one on the "Euphony of Christian Names." One thought: are not the names of those we love always pleasant to the ear?

St. James's Magazine has, as usual, now little in it to commend. Miss Kortwright, of course, writes well, and Mr. Bowie has a pretty good article on Bach, but apart from these papers there is nothing worth mentioning.

Not so in regard to one of our old favourites—the *Argosy*, in which, first of all, "Gabriel's Appointment" goes on well, and secondly, there is one of the best of Johnny Ludlow's tales, but, of course—for we are obliged to say "of course"—it is a melancholy tale, although Johnny himself is clearly one of the brightest of all Johnnies. We like Mr. Wood's sketches of Holland. How well this is done:—

The Town Hall possesses another gem, unknown, rarely seen; of which I have met with no record. It is a small room opening out of the Franz Hals gallery. When many persons are present, or when the keeper is not in an especially amiable mood, the room is not shown. Visitors depart unconscious of what they have missed. That morning, happily, we were almost alone in the gallery, and the old man, doubtless, was in the best of tempers; for, beckoning to us mysteriously, he swung back one of the pictures, drew forth a key, and fitted it into a lock in the wall. We wondered what was coming; whether a species of Bluebeard's closet was about to be disclosed. The lock turned, a door opened, and we entered a small room. But what a room! The moment I was fairly in I felt that I breathed another atmosphere. Nay, at the first moment I forgot to breathe.

It was an old room fitted up in the 16th century style, with Spanish trophies and antique furniture; ancient glass, old jars, wonderful old armour; flags that had waved in the breeze during the siege and bid defiance to the enemy. From a cross beam in the ceiling an old ship was suspended; an old Spanish man-of-war. Everything was rich and dark with age; here and there old green curtains hung, of most exquisite tint; the oak of the furniture, massive and grand, bore the hue of centuries. The whole tone of the room was so beautiful, so refined, so old-world-like, so different from the atmosphere we had just quitted, that it was like passing backwards at one step from the 19th into the 16th century. The transition was almost too sudden, too startling. It could not be fully grasped in the first moment. Then, suddenly, the subtle power of the room seemed to float in upon the mind, and imbue it with its influence: as in a trance, the spirit of the gazer fell back into the old days; the bygone days of war and battle, of famine and murder, of agony and death. A whole siege of horror and suffering passed before the imagination. There, dust-stained and rent, hung the flag that had been borne proudly aloft by an arm whose owner, one moment shouting the war-cry to his rallying comrades, the next, perchance, lay low in the silence of death. The Haarlem of to-day, its influence and morals, faded away, as in the scenes of a shifting phantasmagoria: and in its place, uprose the vision of the past, distinct and realised: all the courage and bravery of a despairing people fighting for life and liberty; the famished phantoms, as shades, flitting through the streets, living ghosts, destined to graves amongst the living. There, hanging up, was a portrait of the brave Maid of Haarlem, bearing the standard, herself ready for death or victory. It all rose before the imagination vividly as if all had been actually taking place. The gloom of the day threw its deep shadows over the room, and heightened its weird-like effect.

Also, there is a tender and beautiful little idyl of "The Child Angel." This is, therefore, a very good number.

The *Leisure Hour* has a capital tale of a "Sparrow Club," which we should like to see reprinted and sent round amongst the bucolics. For even these are capable of being taught, and of learning, after a time, some of the most open secrets of nature. Miss Bird gives us another pleasant Australian sketch, and there are curiously interesting articles on "Entered at Stationers' Hall," which, however, might have been more complete than it is; on the "Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts," and "Paradise Lost."

The *Sunday at Home's* tale of "Lady Bird's Home" really ought not to have been inserted. Are we never to have the last of the tales about a wrecked child, adopted and discovered by means of the inevitable locket? Plots of this kind are worn perfectly ragged. And much the same is "Lost in the Bush." How many tales of this sort have we no read! The fiction of *Sunday at Home* really needs to be looked after. Other contents are remarkably good, notably some new matter on Dr. Livingstone, and Ephesus, by Mr. Wood, and Mr. Alexander's "Pictures from Jewish Life."

Good Words has some papers on "Walks in London" by Mr. Hare, pleasant and chatty—of the same kind as, but superior in style to, Mr. Timbs's pleasant and chatty papers on the same subject. Major Butler has some graphic sketches of snow life in "A Dog and his Doings," Mr. Smiles discourses on his old theme, "A Huguenot Family," and Captain Markham is thoroughly interesting in "Our Life in the Arctic Regions."

The *Quiver* has some brisk tales, but the best of the contents are Canon Farrar's "Westminster Sermons," which are worth the whole number. We wish we could say the same of the poetry—or what is called "poetry."

Cassell's Family Magazine still illustrates the remarkable enterprise of its conductors. There is always something just in season in this journal—notably, this month, "Gardening in April" and "Your Bank Holiday"; the "Chit Chat on Dress" is as practically useful as ever.

The *Poet's Magazine* has little worth the reading, and were we responsible for it we should have left out every article but the "Studies in Poetry," which is valuable for its good and drastic criticism upon "Walt Whitman."——In *Good Things*, Mr. Macdonald's beautiful tale is continued. Finer allegorical writing was never written than that in the present number—which "he who runs may read"—not always the case with Mr. Macdonald's writing. We are slightly tired of "Thomas Edwards," and we should think that that humble naturalist must be tired of seeing so many articles about himself. The best of the remaining contents are a humorous paper on the "Drop of Water," and "Our Ironclads."—In *Evening Hours* we have most enjoyed "Whitsuntide" and "Little Gum Cistus." We miss Lady Barker's hand: that is always the worst of a good writer writing for long in a periodical.——*Little Folks* is admirable, standing now at the head of all children's magazines.——In the *Family Treasury* Dr. Macmillan has an interesting paper on the "Appian Way in Rome," and there is brisk writing in the editor's "Outlook."——In *Golden Hours* Miss Buckland writes a very pleasant article on "Hannah More." The *Christian Treasury* contains its usual quantity of religious matter. This month, however, there is a better paper than usual, for it is on "Hints to the Bible Student," by the late Dr. James Hamilton.

In the *Congregationalist* there is an admirable paper on "Cabs, Cabmen, and Cabmen's Rests," which ought to have a wider circulation than it can obtain through the columns of this magazine. Mr. Aveling's article on "Deacons" is suggestive, and on the "Burials Bill," there is good and decisive writing.

We have also received the *United Presbyterian Magazine*, *Myra's Journal*—cheap, good, useful, ornamental—the *Gardener's Magazine*, also the *Animal World*, *Sunshine*, the *Tract Magazine*, &c.

Miscellaneous.

Ethics of Belief.—On Monday night the Rev. Professor Wace, M.A., read a paper on this subject at a meeting of the Victoria Philosophical Society, at the rooms of the Society of Arts, Adelphi, before a large assembly. Professor Wace's paper was mainly a reply to Professor Clifford's article in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*, which raised the question whether we have the right or not to question the authority of religious belief. Professor Wace maintained that if they were to be guided by the experience of mankind, faith and not science must determine the practical order of life. The just, according to Professor Clifford, should live by doubt, but Professor Wace maintained that the lesson of ordinary life and of the Scriptures was that the just should live by faith alone. He considered that a man must act every day of his life on the basis of certain moral, political, and religious assumptions, of which few men could be competent judges, and he thought all that could be asked of him was, that he should give as thorough a consideration as was possible to objections raised respecting them. His whole presumption was in favour of faith, and opposed to doubt, and he thought it safer in matters of practice, both for individuals and society, to err on the side of belief and trust, than on the side of doubt and hesitation. A discussion followed, in which Dr. Angus, the Rev. Mr. Rigg, and the Rev. Prebendary Irons took part, and the meeting terminated in the usual manner. The members of this society have, we understand, been almost quadrupled during the last six years.

Death of Mr. Henry Spicer.—We regret to record the death, on the 4th inst., of Mr. Henry Spicer, of The Highlands, Putney Heath, after a few days' illness, at the advanced age of seventy-six years. The deceased gentleman was the senior member of the eminent firm of Spicer Brothers, of 19, New Bridge-street, wholesale and export stationers. Until the last few years he resided at Highbury, and was one of the oldest members of Union Chapel, Islington, of which he was for many years a deacon. The deceased was a most liberal supporter of the institutions connected with that place of worship, and took an active interest in all its religious operations. A few months ago he was called upon to lay the foundation stone of the new edifice which is to replace old Union Chapel. Mr. Spicer was also a cordial supporter of, and liberal contributor to, places of worship and charitable organisations connected with the Congregational body, of which he was a member. Though not a man of advanced views in politics, he was also an active supporter of the Liberal cause. At the general election of 1868 he was the chairman of the committee for promoting the return of Lord Enfield for the county of Middlesex, and to his active exertions may be attributed to a great extent the success of the Liberal party on that occasion. By all who knew him, both in business and in his private life, Mr. Spicer was much respected, and in consequence of his decease many will mourn the loss of a friend and a benefactor. The remains of the deceased were interred yesterday in Abney Park Cemetery. There was a very large attendance of friends on the occasion, and the Rev. Dr. Allon, for so many years Mr. Spicer's pastor, and the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, late of Hare-court Chapel, Canonbury, took part in the funeral service.

Testimonial to Mr. Schnadhorst, of Birmingham.—On Monday night, a meeting and *soirée*, in connection with the Birmingham Liberal Association, was held at the Birmingham Town Hall, for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to the secretary, Mr. Schnadhorst. Mr. F. H. Wright, President of the Association, occupied the chair, and the leading Liberals of the district were present. The presentation was made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., and consisted of an illuminated address, together with a watch and 1,000*l*. Mr. Chamberlain said he did not know that there was any occasion on which he could represent the Liberals of Birmingham with greater pleasure than when they intended to express their appreciation of honourable services honourably performed. If they looked at the history of the past seven years, they must admit that the success which had attended them had placed Birmingham in a position perfectly unique amongst the great towns of England. Mr. Schnadhorst, who had been the hero of a hundred fights, had never taken any dishonourable advantage of a political opponent, but had acted like the straightforward English gentleman they were glad to acknowledge. (Applause.) He had received the following letter:—

My dear Mr. Chamberlain,—I am afraid I cannot be

with you on the occasion of the presentation to Mr. Schnadhorst of the testimonial of the great esteem in which he is held by his friends. I am sure the whole Liberal party in Birmingham will unite in expressing their sense of the ability and the faithfulness with which he has discharged the duties of his important office, and of the success which has attended his labours. For myself, I feel much indebted to him, as the agent of the Liberal Association in Birmingham, that he has won their approbation, whilst I believe he has deserved and secured the respect of the parties by which he has been opposed. Pray tell Mr. Schnadhorst that, though not present, I wish to join heartily in congratulation of his friends.—Believe me, very sincerely yours, JOHN BRIGHT." (Loud applause.)

Mr. Chamberlain, resuming, said the Liberals had raised the character of the Town Council and the dignity of municipal life. There had never been a time when the Council stood higher in the estimate of the citizens and of the rest of the country than at the present time. (Applause.) In Italy the civic chair in one of the cities was filled by an ex-cabinet minister, and others were occupied by men of the greatest ability, and why in England should not such offices be held by the aristocracy of the intelligence? ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) After some references to the politics of the day, Mr. Chamberlain made the presentation to Mr. Schnadhorst, which was suitably acknowledged.

EPPS'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills. It is by the judicious use of such articles of diet that a constitution may be gradually built up until strong enough to resist every tendency to disease. Hundreds of subtle maladies are floating around us ready to attack wherever there is a weak point. We may escape many a fatal shaft by keeping ourselves well fortified with pure blood and a properly nourished frame."—*Civil Service Gazette.* Made simply with boiling water and milk.—Sold only in packets labelled—"JAMES EPPS & Co., Homœopathic Chemists, London."

HORNIMAN'S TEA.—Choice teas at very reasonable prices are always to be had of Horniman's Agents; Chemists in every town. Being direct Importers, Messrs. Horniman guarantee the purity, strength, and flavour of all their teas. Their agents are constantly receiving fresh supplies from the Wholesale London House, secured in tinfoil packets, whereby the delicate flavour and aroma is preserved.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Palpitation, pains in the side, wheezing, or tightness of the chest, portend coming mischief. The sufferers at this season from coughs, colds, bronchitis, asthma, and disordered action of heart are earnestly recommended to rub Holloway's searching Ointment well over the chest and back twice a day. Invalids may confidently rely upon the beneficial effects resulting from this treatment, which involves no danger and very little expense. Fortunately neither Ointment nor Pills can possibly prove injurious. They soon relieve all urgent symptoms, ultimately eradicate the complaint, and remove all causes for its recurrence. In early life more particularly all departures from health demand immediate attention.

PERFECTION.—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer never fails to restore grey hair to its youthful colour, imparting to it new life, growth, and lustrous beauty. Its action is speedy and thorough, quickly banishing greyness. Its value is above all others. A single trial proves it. It is not a dye. It ever proves itself the natural strengthener of the hair. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN *has for over 40 years manufactured these two preparations. They are the standard articles fo the hair. They should never be used together, nor Oil nor Pomade with either.*

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S Zylo-Balsamum, a simple tonic and hair-dressing of extraordinary merit for the young. Premature loss of the hair, so common, is prevented. Prompt relief in thousands of cases has been afforded where hair has been coming out in handfuls. It cleanses the hair and scalp, and removes dandruff. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

KINAHAN'S LL WHISKY.—Kinahan and Co., finding that through the recommendation of the medical profession, the demand for their celebrated old LL Whisky for purely medicinal purposes is very great, submit with pleasure the following analysis by Dr. Hassall:—"I have very carefully and fully analysed samples of this well-known and popular whisky. The samples were soft and mellow to the taste, aromatic and ethereal to the smell. The whisky must be pronounced to be pure, well matured, and of very excellent quality. The medical profession may feel full confidence in the purity and quality of this whisky." 20, Gt. Titchfield-st., London, W.

FITS.—Epileptic Fits or Falling Sickness.—A certain method of cure has been discovered for this distressing complaint by a physician, who is desirous that all sufferers may benefit by this providential discovery; it is never known to fail, and will cure the most hopeless case after all other means have been tried. Full particulars will be sent by post to any person free of charge.—Address, Mr. Williams, 10, Oxford-terrace, Hyde-park, London.

CARDINAL ECRU, OR CREAM.—JUDSON'S DYES.—White goods may be dyed in five minutes. Ribbons, silks, feathers, scarfs, lace, braid, veils, handkerchiefs, clouds, bernouses, Shetland shawls, or any small article of dress, can easily be dyed without soiling the hands. Violet, magenta crimson, mauve, purple, pink, ponceau, claret, &c., Sixpence per bottle. Sold by Chemists and Stationers.

RECKITT'S PARIS BLUE.—The marked superiority of this Laundry Blue over all others, and the quick appreciation of its merits by the public has been attended by the usual result—viz., a flood of imitations. The merit of the latter mainly consists in the ingenuity exerted, not simply in imitating the square shape, but making the general appearance of the wrappers resemble that of the genuine article. The manufacturers beg therefore to caution all buyers to see "Reckitt's Paris Blue" on each packet.

OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA.—By the increasing demand for this famed Balm may be estimated its value and efficacy for replenishing, invigorating, and preserving the Hair either from falling off or turning grey. Without it no toilet is complete. It imparts to the hair a bright and glossy appearance, frees it entirely from scurf, and will not soil the most delicate fabric worn as headdress "at home" or in promenade. In the "nursery" its use is invaluable, as it forms in infancy the basis of a healthy and luxuriant head of hair. Sold by all perfumers and chemists, at 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only. Wholesale and retail by the proprietors, C. and A. Oldridge, 22, Wellington-street, seven doors from the Strand, London, W.C.

THOUSANDS are unable to take Cocoa because the varieties commonly sold are mixed with starch, under the plea of rendering them soluble; while really making them thick, heavy, and indigestible. This may be easily detected, for if cocoa thickens in the cup it proves the addition of starch. Cadbury's Cocoa Essence is genuine; it is therefore three times the strength of these cocoas, and a refreshing beverage like tea or coffee.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

MARRIAGES

SIBREE—BREMNER.—March 29, at Regent's park Chapel, W., John David Sibree, solicitor, of Hull, Yorkshire, to Sarah Christine, daughter of Mr. James Bremner, of Bonn on-the-Rhine.

YOUNG—MOORBY.—April 2, at the Milton Congregational Church, Gravesend, by the Rev. Wm. Guest, Edward Young, of Wandsworth and Clapham, to Ann Moorby, of Sturminster Newton, Dorset.

LOGAN—HANNAY.—April 3, at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hammersmith, J. R. Logan, of Glasgow, to Constance Jane Hannay, daughter of R. Hannay, Esq., of Burmah.

STOREY—WILDBLOOD.—April 3, at the Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Woodhouse-lane, Leeds, by the Rev. C. Bamford, Septimus Storey, Leeds, to Martha, fourth daughter of John Wildblood, Leeds.

FORSYTH—MAGNESS.—April 4, at Horbury Chapel, Kensington, by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., Brixton, the Rev. P. J. Forsyth, M.A., Shipley, York, to Minna, elder daughter of the late John Magness, Esq.

WATERS—WHITE.—April 4, at St. Paul's Chapel, Hawley-road, N.W., by the father of the bride, assisted by the Rev. Joshua C. Harrison, of Park Chapel, Regent's-park, Sidney Waters, of 24, Ladbroke-square, only son of the late Robert Waters, Esq., of Oakhurst Lodge, Tufnell-park, to Amy Lee, third daughter of the Rev. Edward White, of Brathay House, Tufnell-park. No cards.

M'LAREN—MACNAIR.—April 5, at the Presbyterian Church, North Bridge street, Sunderland, by the Rev. Robert MacNair, brother of the bride, assisted by the Rev. John Black, minister of the church, James M'Laren, Red House, Sunderland, to Christina Helen, youngest daughter of Robert MacNair, Esq., Boness, Linlithgowshire.

THOMSON—HALL.—April 5, at Nether Chapel, Sheffield, by the Rev. F. J. Falding, D.D., assisted by the Rev. Walter Lenwood, B.A., Edwin Thomson, of Glasgow, to Alice, daughter of Mr. Frederick Hall, Oak Grove, Sheffield. No cards.

BAINES—VAUGHAN.—April 9, at Greenheys Congregational Church, by the Rev. W. J. Hall, William Place, elder son of Thomas Baines, of Moss Side, to Mary, daughter of the late Henry Vaughan.

DEATHS.

GLYDE.—March 31, at 30, Maitland-park-villas, Haverstock-hill, the residence of her niece, Mrs. Tarbottom, Melena Glyde, formerly of Exeter, in her ninety-first year

WEIR—April 1, at Church Stretton, the Rev. John Weir, D.D., late of River-terrace, London.

CONDER.—April 4, at Forest-hill, London, Mr. James N. Conder, formerly of Ipswich, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

SPICER.—April 4, after a few days' illness, Henry Spicer, of the Highlands, Putney Heath, and 19, New Bridge-street, London, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

FOWLER.—April 5, at Torriano-avenue, Kentish Town, Annie, wife of B. Thornton Fowler, after an illness of nearly three years.

Advertisements.

NORWOOD ORPHAN SOCIETY, for the TRAINING UP of BEREAVED CHILDREN in CHRISTIAN FAMILIES. Approved cases received in the order of application. No voting. CONTRIBUTIONS are earnestly requested in aid of this new charity, and will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the Treasurer, Watson Osmond, Esq., 60, Fenchurch-street, E.C., and Netherton, Penge lane, Sydenham; or the Hon. Secretary, Rev. G. T. Coster, Sunny Bank, South Norwood, S.E. Post-office orders to be made payable at the General Post Office. Cheques to be crossed London and South-Western Bank.

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BATH HIGH SCHOOL.—5, Portland-place, Bath. Head Mistress, Miss Wood.
BRIGHTON HIGH SCHOOL.—Milton Hall, Montpelier-road, Brighton. Head Mistress, Miss Creak.
CHELSEA HIGH SCHOOL.—Durham House, Smith-street, Chelsea, S.W. Head Mistress, Miss Bishop.
CLAPHAM MIDDLE SCHOOL.—Clarence House, Clapham common, S.W. Head Mistress, Miss Alger.
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For Prospectuses, with a view of the School Premises, Terms, and further information, apply to the Principal or Secretary.

BAPTIST ANNIVERSARIES. 1877.

Wednesday Evening, April 18th.

YOUNG MEN'S MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.—In aid of the Baptist Missionary Society. The Annual Members' Meeting will be held in the Library of the Baptist Mission House at Seven o'clock. Chairman—Rev. C. BAILHACHE. Tea will be provided at Six o'clock. Officers of Sunday-schools and Young Men's Associations are cordially invited to attend.

Wednesday Evening, April 18th.

BAPTIST BUILDING FUND.—Annual Meeting in Stockwell Baptist Chapel. Chairman—JAS. BENHAM, Esq., the Treasurer of the Fund. To commence at Seven o'clock.

Thursday Morning, April 19th.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Introductory Prayer Meeting, at the Mission House, Castle-street, Holborn. The Rev. F. W. GOTCH, LL.D., President of Bristol College, will preside. Service to commence at Eleven o'clock.

Friday Evening, April 20th.

BRITISH and IRISH BAPTIST HOME MISSION.—Annual Sermon at the City Temple, Holborn. Preacher—The Rev. CHARLES STANFORD, of Camberwell. Service to commence at Seven o'clock.

Friday Evening, April 20th.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Welsh Annual Meeting at the Mission House. To commence at Seven o'clock.

Lord's-day, April 22nd.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Annual Services in the various Chapels of the Metropolis. For particulars see the "Missionary Herald" for April.

Monday Morning, April 23rd.

BAPTIST UNION of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND. President—Rev. J. T BROWN, of Northampton.

The ANNUAL SESSION will be held at Bloomsbury Chapel, at Eleven o'clock a.m., when the President's Inaugural Address will be delivered, the Report presented, and the Committee and Officers elected.

INTRODUCTORY DEVOTIONS, to be conducted by the retiring President, the Rev. W. LANDELS, D.D.

In the Evening a SOIRÉE will be held in the Library of the Baptist Mission House, when Addresses will be delivered by the Revs. J. W. Lance, of Newport, Monmouth; Edward Medley, B.A., of Nottingham; and W. P. Cope, of Maze Pond, London. Tea and Coffee at Five o'clock. Tickets, price 1s. 6d., can be obtained at the Mission House, Castle-street, Holborn.

Monday Afternoon, April 23rd.

BAPTIST TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION—Meeting of Members in the Library of the Mission House, at Four o'clock.

Monday Evening, April 23rd.

BIBLE TRANSLATION SOCIETY. — Annual Meeting at Bloomsbury Chapel, Holborn. Chairman—E. B. UNDERHILL, Esq., LL.D., the Treasurer of the Society. Speakers—The Revs. T. V. Tymms, of Clapton; J. C. Page, of Darjeeling; and W. Hill, Secretary of the General Baptist Missionary Society.

Tuesday Morning, April 24th.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY. — Annual Members' Meeting at the Mission House, Castle-street, Holborn. Chair to be taken at Half-past Ten o'clock by ELISHA S. ROBINSON, Esq., of Bristol.

Tuesday Afternoon, April 24.

BRITISH and IRISH BAPTIST HOME MISSION.—Annual Members' Meeting at Bloomsbury Chapel. Chair to be taken at Four o'clock. Tea at close of Meeting.

Tuesday Evening, April 24th.

BRITISH and IRISH BAPTIST HOME MISSION.—Annual Meeting at Bloomsbury Chapel. Chairman—THOMAS BLAKE, Esq., M.P. Speakers—Revs. J. B. Myers, of Ketteri g; W. Sampson, of Folkestone; and F. Trestrail, F.R.G.S., of Newport, Isle of Wight.

Wednesday, April 25th.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—ANNUAL MORNING SERMON, at Bloomsbury Chapel. Preacher—Rev. ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh. Service to commence at Twelve o'clock.

EVENING SERMONS.

NORTH DISTRICT.—Upper Holloway Chapel. Rev. Samuel Chapman, Glasgow.

EAST DISTRICT.—Mare-street Chapel, Hackney. Rev. James L. Thew, Leicester.

SOUTH DISTRICT.—Denmark-place Chapel, Camberwell. Rev. Henry Platten, Birmingham.

WEST DISTRICT.—Westbourne-grove Chapel, Bayswater. Rev. James Owen, Swansea.

Services to commence at Seven o'clock.

Wednesday Evening, April 25th.

BAPTIST TRACT SOCIETY.—Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall (Lower Room). Members' Meeting at Three o'clock Public Meeting at Six o'clock. Chairman—Mr. Alderman WHITEHEAD, of Bradford, Yorkshire. Speakers—Rev. J. Culross, D.D., of Highbury; Rev. J. Stock, LL.D., of Salendine Nook; Rev. J. Wilkins, of Brighton; Rev. T. V. Tymms, of Clapton; Rev. T. G. Tarn, of Peckham; and others.

Thursday Morning, April 26th.

BAPTIST UNION of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.—Annual Session at Walworth-road Chapel, at Ten o'clock a.m. President—Rev. J. T. BROWN, of Northampton. Introductory Devotions to be conducted by the Rev. Professor Dowson, of Manchester. The Ministers and Delegates will dine at the Metropolitan Tabernacle Rooms by invitation of the London Baptist Association. It is requested that the names of the Ministers and Delegates proposing to attend the Sessions should be sent to the Rev. J. H. Millard, B.A., Huntingdon.

Thursday Evening, April 26th.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall. Chairman—Mr. ALDERMAN BARRAN, M.P., Leeds. Speakers—Rev. W. M. Statham, Hare Court Chapel, Canonbury; Rev. Chas. H. Spurgeon; one of the Missionaries of the Society; and Samuel Danks Waddy, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

Friday Morning, April 27th.

A MISSIONARY BREAKFAST in the Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, on behalf of the Zenana Mission in India, at a quarter to Nine o'clock. Chairman—Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. Speakers—Rev. W. A. Hobbs, of Soorie, Bengal; Rev James Smith, of Delhi, N.W.P.; Rev. S. G. Green, D.D.; and Rev. W. G. Lewis, of Bayswater. Tickets 2s. 6d. each, to be had at the Mission House, or of the Hon. Secretaries, Mrs. Angus or Mrs. Frank Smith.

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JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Esq., LL.D. (Edin.), B.A., F.E.I.S., Member of the Council of the Philological Society, one of the Editors of the Publications of the Early English Text Society, Assistant Examiner in English in the University of London, &c., &c.

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From GARTH WILKINSON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

76, Wimpole-street, London, W., March, 1874.

F. W. Darlow, Esq.

SIR,—I am able to certify that I have used your Magnetine Appliances pretty largely in my practice, and that in personal convenience to my patients they are unexceptionable, and far superior to any other inventions of the kind which I have employed; and that of their efficacy, their positive powers, I have no doubt. I have found them useful in constipation, in abdominal congestion, in neuralgia, and in many cases involving weakness of the spine, and of the great organs of the abdomen. In the public interest I wish you to use my unqualified testimony in favour of your Magnetic Appliances.

I remain, yours faithfully,
GARTH WILKINSON, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

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From the Rev. Dr. KERNAHAN, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S., &c.

St. Albans, March 28, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow and Co.

GENTLEMEN,—I have pleasure in stating that I have deprived much benefit from the use of your Magnetic Chest and Throat Protector, which I have been wearing since the close of the year 1874, having adopted it after a severe attack of quinsey, from which I have been ever since happily free. I am also glad to inform you that two ladies of my acquaintance, who had suffered much from bronchial irritation, have experienced much benefit from having a "Protector." I think it right to make you acquainted with these facts, and I give you liberty to use this note as you think proper.—Yours truly, JAMES KERNAHAN.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIAL FROM GARTH WILKINSON, ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.S.

76, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square, W., June 15, 1876.

F. W. Darlow, Esq.

SIR,—Since March, 1874, when I wrote to you to express my opinion, from experience, of the value of your Magnetic Appliances, I have been frequently asked by letter if my certificate was genuine, and if in the time since elapsed your inventions still approved themselves as beneficial in my practice. To both those questions I can answer by endorsing Magnetine as an arm which I am obliged to resort to in a good many cases.

In addition to the cases I before specified I can now add some experience of the utility of Magnetine in cases of debility, and as a local remedy in painful affections arising in the course of gout. Indeed, I am accustomed to prescribe it wherever topical weakness proceeds from a low vitality in the great nervous centres, or in the principal organs of assimilation, nutrition, and blood purification; also in weak throats from nervous exhaustion affecting the larynx.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

GARTH WILKINSON, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

From the Rev. HENRY BUDD.

Wesleyan Parsonage, Greymouth, New Zealand, July 22, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow & Co.

GENTLEMEN,—It is now about four months since I began to use your Magnetine Throat Band, and I have found great benefit from the use of it. The benefit was immediate, and has continued. The night huskiness, the result of a bronchial attack, has now altogether disappeared.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE NONCONFORMIST.

VOL. XXXVIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1638. LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1877. GRATIS.

THE GOVERNMENT BURIALS BILL.

CONFERENCE AT THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL.

Yesterday afternoon a Conference largely attended was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, convened under the auspices of the Liberation Society and the Dissenting Deputies, to give a clear and emphatic expression of dissatisfaction with the Government Bill prior to its second reading in the House of Lords on the 20th inst.

The chair was occupied by Mr. H. Richard, M.P., in the temporary absence of the Right Hon. J. Stansfeld, M.P., who subsequently presided. There were present the following, amongst other ladies and gentlemen:—Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. H. Edwards, M.P., Mr. Stevenson, M.P., Mr. Thomas Blake, M.P., Sir H. Havelock, M.P., Mr. Watkin Williams, M.P., Mr. S. Marling, M.P., Mr. A. D. Hayter, M.P., Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., Mr. W. E. Baxter, M.P., Mr. A. McArthur, M.P., Mr. T. Rowley Hill, M.P., Mr. C. Harrison, M.P., Mr. G. Leeman, M.P., Mr. E. T. Gourley, M.P., Mr. O. Morgan, M.P., Sir C. Dilke, Bart., M.P., Mr. F. Pennington, M.P., Sir W. Lawson, M.P. Mr. E. Jenkins, M.P., Mr. C. Hopwood, M.P., Mr. H. B. Samuelson, M.P., Mr. J. Holms, M.P., Mr. S. D. Waddy, M.P., Mr. J. Lothian Bell, M.P., Mr. J. Barran, M.P., Serjeant Simon, M.P., Sir T. Bazley, M.P., Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., Lord Kensington, M.P., Mr. J. T. Hutchinson, M.P., Mr. Morgan Lloyd, M.P., Dr. J. A. Lush, M.P., the Rev. W. Braden, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. H. R. Ellington, the Rev. C. Winter, Mr. C. Lamport (Liverpool), Dr. Edwards (Cardiff), the Rev. G. D. Macgregor, Mr. Joseph Clarke, the Rev. H. Hughes, the Rev. Dr. Morrison, Mr. H. H. Fowler (Wolverhampton), the Rev. Dr. James, Mr. P. Crellin, Mr. T. Chatfeild Clarke, Mr. G. C. Whiteley, the Rev. C. M. Birrell, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Peter Bayne, Mr. William Edwards, the Rev. S. McAll, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, the Rev. G. M. Murphy, the Rev. D. Jones, B.A., Miss Helen Taylor, Professor Sheldon Amos, Mr. S. R. Pattison, Mr. A. J. Illingworth, the Rev. A. Mursell, Mr. T. Scrutton, the Rev. R. H. Marten, the Rev. A. Blatchford (Bristol), Mr. W. W. Pocock, Mr. Jno. Glover, Mr. C. P. Ilbert, Mr. W. G. Lankester (Southampton), Mr. W. W. Jubb (Bristol), and Mr. J. Batchelor (Cardiff).

Being called on by the Chairman,

Mr. J. CARVELL WILLIAMS commenced the proceedings with a statement of the provisions of the bill. It was partly a churchyard bill and partly a cemetery bill. So far as churchyards were concerned, it provided for closing them either for want of burial space, or on sanitary grounds, without the assent of the parishioners and by the authority of the Local Government Board, and, when they were closed, they were to be kept in good condition at the expense of the ratepayers, and, when they could no longer yield an income to the incumbent, he could practically disestablish a disused churchyard, by transferring it to the burial authority of the parish. Lastly, when there was no pretext for closing churchyards they might be used by Nonconformists on a new condition, viz., without the performance of any religious service, or of any other ceremony, so that whereas Sir John Nicholl (the judge of the Arches Court) declared that "our Church knows no such indecency as putting the body into consecrated ground without a service being at the same time performed," the Government would allow the "indecency," on the assumption that it would be agreeable rather than otherwise to Nonconformists. The bill was based on the supposition that the churchyards were nearly full, but the Parliamentary returns completely upset that convenient theory. Of the outraged feelings of the inhabitants of country parishes, unnecessarily deprived by this bill of their ancient burial places, and of the enormous expense to be incurred in providing new and superfluous graveyards, the Government had taken no account. The bill proposed to inflict a new grievance on the inhabitants generally, while it shuts its eyes to the grievance inflicted on Nonconformist inhabitants. Those persons knew very little of rural life in England who thought that this bill would be satisfactory. The clauses of the bill appeared to be drawn in the interests of the sacerdotal claims of the clergy. In many places the bill would be a dead letter, and would simply provide a new source of parochial strife. It might be urged that the bill was a consolidation bill, but no one had ever heard of the need for consolidating the Burial Acts until the possibility that Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill might pass became apparent. It might be wise to codify and simplify existing laws that were unobjectionable, but it was not wise to do so when those laws needed considerable amendment. The present laws were bad enough when applied to towns, but would be worse if made applicable to rural parishes. The Government ought to know that it was not to the burial service of the Church of England that Nonconformists had objected, but to the performance of that service by the Episcopal clergy only, and to the refusal to allow the use of any other service. They ought also to know that Nonconformists did not object to the consecration of burial places to meet the views of Episcopalians, but that Nonconformists regarded consecration as a purely religious and not a legal act. The bill was also objectionable, inasmuch as it perpetuated, in the proposed new burial-grounds, the same rights as were now claimed by the Established clergy over the old burial-grounds, and the exaction of the same fees in the consecrated parts of the new cemeteries. The point for the conference to decide was whether such a bill was simply to be protested against and allowed to pass, amended in detail, or whether it was to be pertinaciously resisted, until it was either defeated or abandoned. On that point there could be little doubt.

The CHAIRMAN said he had certainly thought at one time that the present Government would make an attempt to find some final and satisfactory solution of the Burial Question, but the past conduct of the Government was calculated to damp sanguine anticipations as to the liberal character of any of their measures, and he was tempted to exclaim, "Can any good thing come out of that Nazareth from which the Endowed Schools Bill and the Elementary Education Bill of 1876, emanated?" ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Still there were strong reasons why the Government should try to close this irksome and dangerous controversy. The state of public feeling had been shown by the favourable reception of the measure of Mr. Osborne Morgan, and it was known that when Mr. Morgan's bill was last rejected there were a number of Conservative members who followed their leaders into the lobby with undisguised reluctance, and declared that that was the last time that they would vote against the bill. It was also known that a considerable number of distinguished clergymen and several bishops were anxious to see a settlement of this matter which would be satisfactory to the Nonconformists. These things should have tempted the Government to deal with the question satisfactorily and probably they would have done so, but "the 40-parson power," to use a phrase of Sydney Smith, behind them had come forward and propelled them in a direction which it was scarcely possible that the Government themselves could fully approve. Without analysing the bill, he would refer to the distinguished privilege it proposed to confer upon Nonconformists of placing them on the same level in regard to silent burial as unbaptized, or excommunicated persons, or as suicides. The bill also proposed to give power to a fraction of the ratepayers to provide burial grounds at the expense of the ratepayers, when no necessity on sanitary or other grounds existed for such creation. In order to give some plausible ground for such a proposal the promoters of the bill had misconceived, or misrepresented the views of the Nonconformists. (Hear, hear.) They had said that such a measure was necessary because Dissenters objected to be buried in consecrated ground. (Cries of "Oh," and laughter.) He never heard such an objection from any Dissenter, and, indeed, to a Dissenter consecration was perfectly insignificant—an unmeaning ceremony, and to him the idea of consecration, as entertained by Churchmen, was always inexplicable. He understood the word as signifying a setting apart; but he did not believe that the utterance of certain words imparted any holiness to any part of this earth, and that the idea was not only absurd but almost profane and presumptuous. This idea reminded him of the answer of the Rev. Mr. Howells, of Longacre, who being accustomed to work amongst the Methodists, was taken to task by the Bishop of London for preaching in unconsecrated places. He replied, "Your lordship has been misinformed. When the Son of God planted His feet on this earth He consecrated every inch of it for the purposes of His kingdom with a far higher and nobler consecration than that which is in the power of your lordship to bestow." ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Many of the objections to Mr. Morgan's bill were obviously hollow and unreal, but he believed the one great objection was clerical pride—a determination that they would not allow their exclusive sacerdotal privileges and their clerical supremacy to be infringed upon in the slightest degree. With regard to the Government measure, they must all answer, "Take back your Burials Bill, we will have none of it." (Cheers.)

Sir HENRY HAVELOCK, M.P., moved the first resolution as follows:—

1. That this conference regards the Burials Bill of the Government as an absolute refusal of the just claim of parishioners to exercise their right of burial in the parochial churchyards in harmony with their religious convictions and feelings, without being compelled to accept the services of the Episcopal Church and its clergy; and that it strongly resents the way in which that claim has been met by the Government, in offering to allow Nonconformists to bury in churchyards without any religious service whatever.

2. The conference is of opinion that the great majority of country churchyards will, for a lengthened period, contain ample space for the interment of all the parishioners, without danger to the health of the community; and that to close them, only to prevent the conduct of burial services therein by others than the established clergy, would inflict a great wrong on the parishioners.

3. That the provision of new burial places, where the churchyards are still available, would involve a wasteful expenditure of public money; the opprobrium of which would, however unjustly, attach to Nonconformists. It would also inevitably occasion parochial strife, and multiply, instead of putting an end to, invidious ecclesiastical distinctions.

4. That the repugnance with which the measure is regarded by the conference is in no degree abated by the fact that it consolidates existing laws; inasmuch as some of those laws are objectionable, and ought not to be re-enacted. In particular, the conference objects to the exclusion from consecrated ground, whether in churchyards or cemeteries, of all services, and all ministers, but those of the Church of England. It further objects to the division of ground into consecrated and unconsecrated parts, with conspicuous boundary marks; as an arrangement involving great practical difficulties, and, in many cases, the maintenance of the grievance already suffered in the churchyards. It is no less opposed to the compulsory erection of two mortuary chapels; that one may be exclusively used by Episcopalians. And it is further strongly averse to the extension, and the perpetuation, in burial-grounds provided at the public expense, of the exclusive rights, and of the claims to exact fees, now exercised, or enforced, by the clergy, and the clerks, and the sextons, in the existing churchyards.

5. For these reasons, the conference is of opinion that no efforts should be wanting on the part of the friends of religious liberty, and especially of the members of the Liberal party in both Houses of Parliament, to prevent the Bill becoming law; that the question may hereafter be dealt with in a manner more consistent with reason and equity, and more likely to effect a satisfactory and lasting settlement."

He congratulated the conference on the improved tone of public opinion, which was growing continuously. On the first occasion, when Mr. Morgan brought forward his bill, there was an insignificant majority of fourteen against it, and last year the division was still more full of meaning, because although the Conservatives had been brought from all parts of the earth to vote against it, yet, in a House of 527 members, the majority against the bill was only thirty-three; therefore Parliament might be said to have come round to the Nonconformist views of the question. The principal objection he had to this bill was that it started on the false pretence that it met a long-expressed want; whereas in fact it evaded it in a most bare-faced and palpable manner. In fact, he did not think that if he used the term "dishonest" he would be saying too much against the bill. It dealt with the question in a manner which would not bear investigation, and by a sort of side wind of the most discreditable character. Under this bill a small minority of the ratepayers might put the country to the expense of three millions of money. Something had been said about consecration, and on this point he was afraid he was perfectly unsound—(laughter)—because as a soldier he had been in the habit for many years of carrying his life in his hand, not knowing that before night his bones might be picked clean on the hill-side, or his body devoured by ravenous animals, and, therefore, he preferred to take that higher and sounder definition of the word consecration which had been given by the poet:—

> Where'er you seek God he is found,
> And every spot is hallowed ground.

(Cheers.) The bill exhibited the grossest form of sacerdotal assumption that he had ever seen. Whilst he did not sympathise with the idea of consecration, he could sympathise with the feeling of those who desired to have the privilege of saying a few words over the grave of the departed, and, therefore, he trusted that the resistance to this bill would grow from hour to hour; and he believed from what they had seen of the retrograde action of the Government in the case of the Endowed Schools Bill and other measures, that the Government was simply feeling its way now, and would finally abandon the bill. His advice to the conference was that every one should become a representative man, and use his influence against the bill, either in his own congregation or in his own circle of society, until they secured its ignominious withdrawal. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. A. PICTON, M.A., seconded the motion, reserving his observations.

Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., who was received with much applause, said that when he last had the honour of addressing a similar conference he stated that he had great faith in giving the Government rope enough in this matter, but he never could have conceived that they would have managed to tie the noose so tightly round their own necks as they had done. He felt profoundly grateful to the Government for having brought in so exceedingly bad a bill, because, if it had been better, somebody might have found a word to say in its favour; but this bill reminded him of that boy mentioned by Dickens, who was pronounced to be so desperately bad that nothing but hanging would ever do him any good. (Laughter.) He had talked to many persons about this bill — Churchmen and Dissenters, Conservatives and Liberals —and he had read almost every article that had been written, and had found no one who had a single good word to say for the bill except, curiously enough, his excellent friend Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., who had picked out one clause which gave powers to the municipal authorities to convert disused churchyards into places of public amusement. (Loud laughter.) That might be a laudable object; but did it require 88 clauses, 5 schedules, and 50 pages of most appropriate foolscap to enact that disused churchyard should be turned into places of amusement. (Renewed laughter.) He would not shrink from asserting that the bill was dishonest. From the first word, "Whereas," to the last schedule the bill was a hypocritical bill—(Hear, hear)—and, as a Conservative member said to him yesterday, "It was a bill brought in under false pretences." It was a bill that invented an imaginable grievance in order to give the go-by to the real one. He would test that proposition. Would the Duke of Richmond himself dare to stand up and say that, if he (Mr. Morgan) had never brought in his bill, this bill would have been introduced? No. How was it that although sanitary legislation had been the motto of the Conservatives ever since and before they came into office, and although three Public Healths Acts had been carried, yet no one ever dreamt of saying a word about the unhealthy state of our churchyards, until Mr. Cross, driven to his wits' end to find arguments against his (Mr. Morgan's) bill, was obliged to pitch on this one to get out of the difficulty. They would remember that the case of Northampton was cited as one where sanitary measures were required, but it so happened that he had just received a communication from the Mayor of Northampton, enclosing a petition from the corporation, denouncing this bill as unjust and unnecessary—(laughter)—so that the pet instance on which the Government relied actually broke down. (Hear, hear.) How did the bill propose to deal with this so-called sanitary question? There were 12,500 churchyards still used for the purposes of sepulture in England and Wales. Now, it was proposed to give one-twentieth part of the ratepayers, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, the power of creating new burial-grounds, and thus place a tremendous expense on the shoulders of the ratepayers. Was it wonderful that Churchmen as well as Dissenters objected to such a proposal? Why, only the other day a gentleman said to him in the train, "I live in a parish where there are only twenty ratepayers. I am a Churchman, and this bill will enable one Dissenter to say to the Churchmen, "Although the churchyard is not likely to be full for generations, I insist on you nineteen Churchmen providing me and my family with a place of sepulture all to ourselves." Surely this was reducing the matter to an absurdity. He had taken a great deal of pains to ascertain the cost of cemeteries in towns, and they averaged between 3,000*l.* and 12,000*l.* each, and he was quite certain that he was below the mark when he said that if this bill was put into force, in one-third of the parishes in England it would cost the ratepayers three millions of money, and probably it would cost double. Observe also that this proposal came from a Government which had always made the reduction of local taxation its great watchword; yet it proposed to load the ratepayers with this enormous debt in order that they might keep up the miserable distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground. Just as if the road to heaven was not strait and narrow enough without setting up two entries to it! Supposing, however that only one-third of the parishes in England were to be provided with new cemeteries, how was it proposed to deal with the 7,000 or 8,000 others? He confessed that on this point it was difficult to speak in measured or moderate terms. The bill proposed to allow the Dissenters to be laid in consecrated ground, but without a word of consolation—not a hymn, not a line, not a word. It proposed to treat them as *felo de ses?* He felt as an Englishman ashamed to think that an English Minister should be found bold enough to lay on the table of the House such a a proposal. (Cheers) The Archbishop of Canterbury was far more liberal, because he was willing to allow those he called his Nonconformist brethren —(laughter)—to sing a hymn over the grave, and the archbishop thought the difficulty might be solved in that way, though his poetic mind shrunk from allowing a prose exhortation to be used. (Renewed laughter) Argument after argument had been adduced against his (Mr. Morgan's) bill, until there was nothing left except this miserable fallacy of sanitary improvement. Then it was said, "If you pass your bill you will be getting in the thin edge of the disestablishment wedge." (Laughter.) He could not help thinking that while they were endeavouring to get in the thin edge of the wedge, the clergy themselves had got in the the thick end of the wedge—("Hear, hear," and laughter)--and he could not help thinking, when he read such addresses as those that had been recently signed by some distinguished clergymen, including several deans, that disestablishment had already begun, except that that disestablishment seemed to imply with them all the benefits of the connection with the State without any of the burdens. He began to ask himself, Was there such a thing as the Reformation in England? did Henry the Eighth or Queen Elizabeth ever exist, or whether they were mythical creations, like Romulus and Remus? (Loud laughter.) But he was straying from the point. As far as his bill was concerned, this Government bill would not turn him aside. His course would not be more affected by this bill than the course of a three-master would be affected by the puff of a pair of bellows. (Cheers.) They had been told that this was a case for compromise, over and over again; but was it a compromise which would saddle Churchmen with three millions of rates, and which would ordain that Dissenters should be buried like persons who had committed self-destruction? If that was the method of compromise, then all he could say was "Heaven preserve me from such compromises!" Their course was perfectly clear. The common law of England had given them the right of interment in the churchyards, but the ecclesiastical laws of England had coupled with that right a condition that made it a mockery, and he therefore asked the conference to support him in repealing that condition; he asked it in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, and in the name of religion itself; and with God's assistance they would get it. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Serjeant Simon, M P., said Mr. Morgan had put the question upon its true basis, when he said that by the common law of England every parishioner was entitled to the right of burial in his parish churchyard, but that an ecclesiastical law, of somewhat doubtful legal efficacy, had obliged the clergyman to adhere to a certain formula, and gave him the power of prohibiting any burial in the churchyard without that formula being used. He believed that in no country but this would such an absurd anomaly be suffered to continue. The French and Germans would have discarded it long ago. This law was a state of things too scandalous to be suffered amongst an enlightened community Another objection to the bill was the miserable and intolerant spirit which underlaid it. If an Englishman had a boast, it was that of perfect liberty—freedom of thought and action, which marked the outlines of our modern history. Nonconformists had done more for the achievement of those liberties than any other part of the English community. He himself belonged to a race and a religion that had suffered more from this detestable and odious difference of religious opinion of which they now complained than any other class, and he thought he should not be doing his duty if he did not support this movement. (Hear, hear.) It did not give any single right which was not enjoyed now. They had the right of being buried without a service now, and there were clergymen liberal enough to permit that to be done. This bill proposed to perpetuate, and give legal sanction to, the present state of things, and against that proposal they must all protest. They wanted to know why they should be laid in the earth like a dog. (Hear, hear.) Though he belonged to a religious community, which provided their own burial places, yet he joined heartily with this conference in protesting against the bill, and upon every occasion he had supported his friend Mr. Morgan in the House of Commons. The bill was an exhibition of the miserable spirit of priestcraft, that worst of all curses of the human race, and if he did nothing more in the cause he would vote against a measure so insulting to a large section of the community, and so utterly at variance with the spirit of liberty which they had hoped had been planted without dispute in our land, but of which it seemed to be the endeavour of a small section, the priestly sacerdotal order in the Church, to deprive us.

Mr. Alderman Fowler (of Wolverhampton), a Methodist, expressed his hearty sympathy with the opposition offered to this monstrous bill—(Hear, hear)—which would intensify and perpetuate the grievances under which a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects now suffered. He felt there was something underlying this question which ought to be dragged out. At present it appeared to be only bush fighting and sham fighting, and they must drag forth the assumption that Dissenters were something totally different from all other human beings, and were to be treated as the infidel and the dog. (Hear, hear.) As to consecrated ground, he believed in that which was consecrated by the dead lying there century after century, and he claimed the right that their Nonconformist rural friends should sleep in that consecrated ground as Christian men and Christian women, and not as dogs, and suicides, and the outcasts of the land. Therefore, he would accept no compromise, and they had better fight it out. The real grievance was the men and not the service. One point of a practical character he would like to enforce on the conference. He thought they ought to expect something of the Liberal party as a party. He was indisposed generally to say that Nonconformist claims should be pressed pre-eminently upon the Liberal party, but this was a question on which they had a right to point out to the Liberal party that it involved the question of civil and religious liberty upon which the Liberal party was based, and it was a question that they might expect the leaders of the party to take up and fight out. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. A. Picton said the bill was no small offence to Nonconformists, and was also an offence to the tolerant spirit of the age. There were many evidences, he thought, that the population of this country had ground to be a little ashamed of the superstition of consecration. He did not say it was a superstition on the part of the members of the Church of England to prefer to be buried in ground that had been blessed in some manner by a bishop, but it was a superstition to hold that the Almighty Father was offended if in that ground a Nonconformist minister or layman should offer up a prayer. They had all seen in foreign countries the Roman Catholic priest engaged at one grave, while Protestant and Calvinist ministers were engaged at another. What did the bill propose to do? It was a measure which was avowedly intended to make permanent one of the worst forms of religious intolerance that the world had ever seen. Of course, if the bill was passed certain arguments would be taken away which they had hitherto been accustomed to use. But could it be supposed that if the bill passed the mischief would become permanent? They were all agreed that the bill was a bad one, and the point now was what was best to be done? Time had been when Nonconformists alone could stop bad measures, but he was almost afraid that time had gone by. (Cries of "No, no.") To judge by the Education Act of last year it seemed to be so; but with regard to such a question as this the Nonconformists did not stand alone, because they had the whole liberal mind and feeling of the country with them. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the opposition to be offered to the bill it would not do merely to have public meetings, or one or two petitions, but there should be petitions sent up from every Nonconformist congregation throughout the country, and from every free church. He was sure also that many liberal clergymen were attached to the cause, and that large numbers of Churchmen would also send up petitions on their own account, and if these steps were taken some impression would probably be made even on the present Government, and thus this abominable and insulting proposition might be prevented from becoming law.

The Right Hon. J. Stansfeld (who had by this time assumed the chair) said that he had received a letter from Sir Harcourt Johnstone, in which he said that he could not conveniently be present at this conference, but as a Churchman he was thoroughly with them in condemning the Government bill, which ought not to satisfy Nonconformists, for it was neither wise nor equitable, nor tolerant, in its provisions. (Hear, hear.) The note of opposition to the measure had now been sounded with no uncertainty throughout the country, and therefore it was entirely unnecessary to urge on the conference the necessity of opposition, inasmuch as they had already determined on a course. Alderman Fowler had alluded to the Liberal party, and he (the chairman) would express his positive conviction that there would not be a dissentient voice in the ranks of the Liberal party—(Hear, hear)—and he felt convinced that a determined opposition would be given to the measure at every convenient opportunity. He had recently referred to the debates in the House of Lords last year on this question, and he found that on May 15 last year Earl Granville proposed two resolutions, namely, "That it was desirable to amend the burials law—first, by giving facilities for the interment of deceased persons without the use of the Burial Service of the Church of England in churchyards." Of course that resolution alone would have meant silent burial; but it was followed by another—"To enable the relations or friends, having charge of the funeral of any deceased persons, to conduct such funeral in any churchyard in which the deceased had a right of interment with such Christian and orderly religious observances as to them might seem fit." With those two resolutions already proposed by the leader of the Liberal party it could not be considered likely that the leader of the Liberal party would be false to the propositions which he had himself initiated. Lord Granville, in the speech in which he introduced these resolutions, referred to a number of alternative suggestions of which he had come to know, and in respect of one of these he observed, "This is tantamount to silent burial without religious consolation at the very time when it is most acceptable to mourning relatives, and this is so repugnant to the feeling of the majority of Dissenters, that I think we may dismiss it without further consideration." The Duke of Richmond, the introducer of the present bill, following Lord Granville on the occasion, and speaking on the two resolutions, and criticising them separately, said, as to the second resolution, that Lord Granville was wise not to be satisfied with the first, because the first alone would mean silent burial, and because he (Lord Granville) knew that it would not satisfy those whose cause he had taken in hand. That was the condition of the knowledge of the Duke of Richmond on the 15th May, 1876; and as the debate went on the Archbishops of Canterbury and York both deprecated the indignity of silent burial. The Bishop of London followed much in the same strain, and then at last came Lord Selborne, and he would like to know what man would presume to be a better Churchman than Lord Selbourne.

(Hear, hear.) What did Lord Selborne say? He said, very much in the spirit of the argument of Mr. Alderman Fowler, "Compulsory silent burial can in no respect be a settlement. It is a necessary corollary of the principle of religious liberty that when you have got so far as to the point of dispensing with the services of the clergyman of the Church, you must permit people who bury their relatives in the churchyard to do it religiously if they think fit, and it is contrary to the first principles on which the Church is founded to say to mourners, 'If you will not accept religion in our way you shall, as far as we have the power to compel you, do a thing that you wish to do religiously in a way which is not religious.'" (Hear, hear.) Now, which course was open to Her Majesty's Government? He was not unconscious of their difficulties. Their difficulty was to find a mutual ground which would satisfy the claims of conscientious Dissenters and the claims of the conscientiousness of a certain portion, but not the most enlightened portion, of the clergy of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) But the Government might have left it alone—(Hear, hear)—and there was no man who would have complained of them for letting it alone. They were not bound to initiate a bill, because they were not bound to propound a bill which they called a settlement, if they knew, or if they ought to know, that by no possibility could that bill be accepted as a settlement by those most interested in the question. However, the Government did bring forward a measure which they called a concession, but the concession was not to the claims of Dissenters but to that narrow portion of the clergy of the Established Church to which he had referred. (Hear, hear.) They had in the seventy-four clauses of the bill deliberately done that which the Duke of Richmond in May, 1876, declared that the Nonconformists of the country could not accept. The Government had deliberately done this, they had unnecessarily insulted the Nonconformists as well as to insult the whole Liberal party. The Government had thrown down the glove, and it was for the Nonconformists and Liberal party to take it up and fight the bill out. He did not doubt that it would be fought out. In regard to the bill, the seventy-fourth clause, to which he had referred, was insult enough, but there was something more than insult in the bill—there was a great deal of contrivance, and he would like to point out the real character and purport, design and danger of the bill. In modern days the first few clauses of a bill expressed the principles on which it was founded, while the other clauses were almost entirely consequences of that principle. Therefore they would find the pith of this bill in the fifth and sixth clauses, whilst all the rest were more or less consequences, except the seventy-fourth, which, he said, had been put in at the end for the sake of satisfying a portion of the clergy, and to which he did not suppose the Government attached very much importance. The fifth clause referred to the obligation to provide a new burial-ground when the old one was closed, but the sixth clause was one against which they must be upon their guard, for if they looked at the matter they would find that in 15,000 odd parishes of this country one-twentieth of the ratepayers might at their own instance, or at the instance of the clergyman say that a new burial-ground was necessary. But, suppose that the burial authority refused to incur the necessary expense, to whom was the appeal? The sixth clause would answer that question. The appeal was not, as in other cases where sanitary matters were concerned, to the local government board, but to the Home Secretary. He had hardly ever read a clause which from the mere jurisprudential point of view was so arbitrary and vague. If the Home Secretary, out of the depths of his inner consciousness, chose to think for some reason that there was not sufficient or suitable consecrated and unconsecrated ground he might order a cemetery to be created at the cost of the ratepayers whether they wanted it or not Now, from the lawyer's point of view, he thought that was bad law. At any rate, this clause would very differently interpreted by the Home Secretaries of different Governments. (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt that a strong opposition would be offered to this measure by the Liberal party at every stage, and he had no doubt of the success of the opposition. He did not believe the bill would get to the seventy-fourth clause, so far as the House of Commons was concerned. (Applause.) The Government would, doubtless, before that time begin to see that the measure was not a settlement, and could not be any settlement because upon the change of Government there would be a change of interpretation, and not only a change of interpretation of the law, but its repeal. The Government would begin to discover that they would suffer a practical injury by this attack on the Liberal party, which would do the Liberal party more good than harm, and they would not fail to remember also that, as the measure could only last the life of one Government, it would alienate their followers by the bitter strife that would arise in each parish, and, without any doubt, it would loose the hold of the Established Church upon the affections of the people, and hasten her inevitable decay. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS thought they owed a debt of gratitude to the Conservative Government, because they might have offered a compromise which would have divided the Nonconformists—(laughter)—whereas they had offered an insult which had united all. Mr. Freeman once said of the Earl of Derby that he thought at one time that he was influenced by malignity, but found that he was simply misled by folly. It might, perhaps, be said conversely that the Duke of Richmond was probably the victim of ignorance, whereas it might be discovered he was misled by malignity to insult the Nonconformists and the whole Liberal party. (Hear, hear.) He believed that, whether alone or not, the Nonconformists had the power to defeat this bill, and that the Conservatives triumphed over the Endowed Schools Bill because the Nonconformists had no notice of what was going to be done. Let them as Nonconformists give their representatives in Parliament to understand that this bill must be opposed from first to last, and resisted at every stage; that they meant it to be defeated, and then defeated it certainly it would be. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. WADDY, Q.C., M.P., proposed:—

That copies of the foregoing resolutions be sent to the Government, and to the members of the House of Lords, and that the opponents of the bill be recommended to hold themselves in readiness to petition the House of Commons against the Bill, should it come down from the Upper House.

He announced that the Wesleyan Methodist body had already taken action against the measure, and read some resolutions which they had passed, and which appeared in our last week's issue.

Mr. HENRY WRIGHT seconded the resolution.

Mr. LAMPORT proposed as a rider:—

And to urge upon their representatives, by deputation and otherwise, the necessity of resisting the passing of the measure by all the means which the forms of the House permit.

Mr. MARLING, M.P., seconded the adoption of the rider.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., being called upon by the Chairman, related, as an instance of a local grievance, that in Birmingham there was a disused churchyard which had been tunnelled by a railway company, and 1,000*l.* compensation had been paid which had gone into the pocket of the rector of the parish, when, at least some portion ought to have been spent in putting the place in decent order. He confessed his inability to understand the position of their opponents who professed to be unable to trust Nonconformists to bury their dead without being guilty of public indecency or impropriety. In the House he should do all he could to prevent this bill becoming law. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON, M.P., said the Conference had naturally resented the affront put upon Nonconformists by the bill. It was the fate of the Conservative party to be utterly out of sympathy with the great body of the people. It was not of so much consequence how the bill was initiated as to decide what was to be done with it. Their adherence to Mr. Osborne Morgan's bill would be a very effective opposition to the Government measure. The battle must be fought out, and he had no doubt the feeling of the country would respond to the resolutions passed this day. (Cheers.)

The resolution, with the rider proposed, was then passed unanimously.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that in all probability information would be given in the course of the week as to the exact method by which the bill would be opposed in the House of Lords. With regard to the House of Commons, Mr. Morgan had fully made up his mind to move as an amendment on the second reading (if it came to a second reading)—"That no settlement will be accepted by this House which does not permit interments in the parish churchyards in England and Wales with services other than those of the Established Church, and by others than the ministers of that Church."

Mr. A. SHEPHEARD, in seconding the motion, read letters of apology for absence from Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Landels, the Rev. Newman Hall, Mr. Dillwyn, M.P., and Dr. Punshon, all expressing sympathy with the cause.

Mr. STANSFELD and Mr. RICHARD having acknowledged the compliment, the proceedings terminated.

"An Old Nonconformist Minister," writing in the *South Wales Daily News*, asks:—"Could not some influential friend induce the Government to add darkness to silence in the burial of Dissenters? This, it strikes me, would be a very important improvement. In the first place, because there is, sentimentally at least, a close affinity between darkness and silence. In the second place, an Act that is insulting and degrading to a person's sentiments and social position, could better be endured under the cover of night than in the light of the sun. Some years ago I was called to attend a funeral of this description. It was that of the child of a poor man. The clergyman of the parish had refused to bury it because it had not been christened. I was consequently invited to conduct a religious service at the cottage. After having done so, I walked with the funeral to the church. At the entrance gate we were met by the sexton or gravedigger, who conducted us to the grave, which, on account of the darkness, was almost imperceptible. There was, however, before us a dark hole, for I could call it nothing else, into which the little coffin was lowered in silence, I should say, in darkness and silence, as there was nothing to disturb the silence but the sobbing of the insulted, degraded, and broken-hearted mother. Let Nonconformists arise to a man to resist this insult."

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